HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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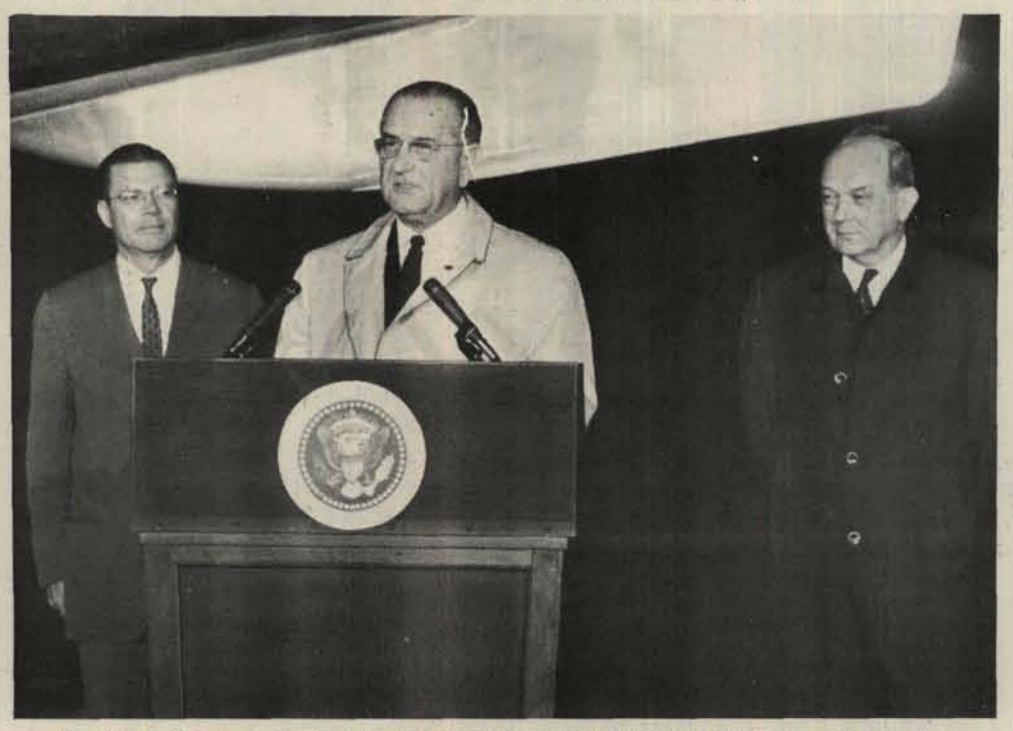

President Johnson, flanked by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, tells newsmen of Ho Chi Minh's latest rebuff.

While the Administration anxiously pursues "peace feelers," American GIs continue to fight; last week's death toll was the highest of the war.

An Open Letter to the President

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Dear Mr. President:

We listened attentively to your address to the Tennessee Legislature, seeking some sign that you are master of the Viet Nam war. In your own words, you are not. You don't know what the enemy will do.

You reaffirmed what you have made transparently clear to the world—that you are diligently exploring every avenue to the negotiation of an honorable peace in Viet Nam. You restated in commendable clarity your dedication to the protection of the people of South Viet Nam in the ordering of their internal affairs.

These purposes are indeed worthy. Nevertheless, we are acutely conscious that you are failing to accomplish them.

For more than three years you have been protesting your readiness to negotiate peace. You have told us that when Ho Chi Minh realized that he could not win in South Viet Nam, he would come to the conference table. If your assumption is correct, Ho Chi Minh remains unconvinced. What will you do to convince him?

We do not see a rational posture in your protracted search for negotiation with an enemy who adamantly spurns approaches. Common sense requires you to take positive measures to change his attitude. You are requiring our fighting men and the people of South Viet Nam to suffer protracted warfare while you withhold the measures which will compel North Viet Nam to cease its aggression.

You expressed a hope for the pacification of South Viet Nam. This seems clearly to be a false hope.

Our troops have had repeated engagements with the enemy on the same terrain near the western border of South Viet Nam during the past two years. The record demonstrates that our forces cannot prevent the invasion of South Viet Nam from enemy sanctuaries in Laos and Cambodia. It is impossible to secure the long western border of South Viet Nam while you allow sanctuary to the enemy across the border.

Under these circumstances, the Viet Cong ravage, pillage and terrorize the border districts of South Viet Nam at will. Pacification is impossible because the peasants cannot give their allegiance to a government which cannot protect them.

It is sometimes said that the activities of Viet Cong sympathizers in the United States sustain Ho Chi Minh's confidence that he will ultimately triumph. However, rational analysis compels the conclusion that Ho's confidence of ultimate victory is sustained chiefly by your continuing allowance of sanctuary for his forces in Laos and Cambodia. So long as you allow him this advantage, his forces are in fact unbeatable.

We find it intolerable that you, as commander-in-chief, are allowing the enemy to strike across the border at our fighting men and are denying our men their clear right to strike back across the border and destroy the enemy. Your restrictions multiply our casualties. They deny our men the effective use of their superior fire power and mobility. They sustain the enemy aggression and prolong the war.

Mr. President, the Communist confidence of victory in Viet Nam lies in the false judgments of the road to peace which have been implanted in your mind. Your advisers have erroneously counseled you that renunciation of the most fundamental rights of self-defense of our allies and our own forces serves the cause of peace by limiting the war. Your adherence to that error is the definitive cause of the expanding war in Viet Nam.

When you terminate the enemy sanctuaries in Laos and Cambodia, Ho Chi Minh will know that his ambitions of conquest are unattainable. For then they will be unattainable.

Respectfully,
Thomas A. Lane

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Frank C. Hanighen (1899-1964)

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In reporting the news, *Human Events* is objective; it aims for accurate presentation of the facts. But it is *not* impartial. It looks at events through eyes that are biased in favor of limited constitutional government, local self-government, private enterprise and individual freedom. These principles represented the bias of the Founding Fathers. We think the same bias will preserve freedom in America.

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● No one really knows what the ever-changeable Gov. **George Romney** is going to say in his Viet Nam speech come April 7, but insiders predict he's likely to come out in support of LBJ's policy. The political pressure, they say, has become too much for him to buck. During a closed-door strategy session of GOP governors here, Romney pulled out a pencil and began drafting a resolution—never passed—backing the President on Viet Nam.

● Liberals in the Nation's Capital were stunned last week when none other than Robert Gardiner, a prominent Ghanaian and executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, suggested that **South Africa** be readmitted as a participating member of the ECA. (South Africa was expelled from the ECA in 1964 because of its racial policies.) Gardiner said, furthermore, that to condemn South Africa's independent neighbors for maintaining economic links with South Africa impaired their chances of survival and "prejudiced considerably interests which are vital to the whole of Africa." If black African nationalists now want to get along with South Africa, suggested one observer last week, why doesn't the United States?

● Gen. **Curtis LeMay** (Ret.), former chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force, indicated last week he might run for the Senate seat now held by liberal California Republican Thomas Kuchel. Conservative Republican LeMay, whom Human Events interviewed in our Jan. 28, 1967, issue, told reporters, "I would not turn my back on a call to further duty for Uncle Sam." Kuchel, already in hot water with Golden State Republicans, may also face a challenge from conservative Max Rafferty, superintendent of public instruction.

● In spite of **Bobby Kennedy's** assurances that he'll support LBJ in 1968, both Bobby and brother Teddy are expected to make speeches in the near future taking strong issue with LBJ and the "Great Society."

● Chief Justice **Earl Warren** received a frosty reception when he showed up last week at the National Conference on Crime Control, called by the Justice Department. Attorneys general and other law enforcement officers representing every state in the Union pointedly snubbed Warren. FBI Director Hoover, in contrast, received a tumultuous ovation.

● Will **Social Security** taxes be raised during this session of Congress? Probably, but they may not be hiked as high as LBJ desires. While the President is calling for a 20 per cent increase in Social Security benefits that must be paid for through escalated taxes, Chairman Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee thinks LBJ's proposals are based on Administration-manipulated figures concerning Medicare costs. Mills will shortly cross-examine top Social Security officials on the subject.

● Denials abound, but leading New York Democrats still expect U.N. Ambassador **Arthur Goldberg** to challenge Sen. Jacob K. Javits in 1968.

● Speaking to a rally sponsored by the Chicago branches of a Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) and its Women for Peace movement, Dr. **Martin Luther King** called for an amalgamation of "the civil rights movement with the peace movement. We must demonstrate, teach and preach until the very foundations of our nation are shaken." King said, further, that the United States is "committing atrocities equal to any perpetuated by the Viet Cong."

● Influential Chairman L. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.) of the House Armed Services Committee advocated last week that the Nationalist troops of **Chiang Kai-shek** be "unleashed" on the Red Chinese mainland. "If there ever was a time, the time is now in the midst of this civil war which is raging in China," Rivers said.

● Mrs. **Louise Day Hicks**, controversial head of the Boston School Committee, plans to run for mayor next fall. Mrs. Hicks became widely known because of her opposition to busing children to achieve a certain prescribed "racial balance" in the schools and has been elected to the school board by overwhelming margins. She is presently contesting a Massachusetts law which requires the State Board of Education to withhold state aid from any school within a system that has a Negro enrollment of more than 50 per cent.

● Rep. **Thomas B. Curtis** (R.-Mo.), a ranking Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee, is all set to fight LBJ's ambitious plan to infuse fresh funds and ideas into the federal-state public assistance programs that currently provide monthly cash payments to seven million needy. Under LBJ's proposed program, total annual outlays, now $7 billion, would climb more than 10 per cent by 1969. Federal control, furthermore, would be tightened so all states would be required to pay the "needy" the full amount of money the federal government says is necessary to cover essential living costs.

● Georgia Gov. **Lester Maddox**, who has surprised observers with his performance in office so far, last week strongly hinted any third-party conservative movement would not get his support if the national Democratic party would move somewhat to the right. In an obvious slap at Alabama's ex-Gov. George Wallace, Maddox said, "I feel we [conservatives] can be most effective staying within a major party. Of course, that is the Democratic party. . . . I'm suggesting the conservatives could do their best by not bolting."

● The liberals like to look upon Africa as a symbol of democracy. But when **Sierra Leone** bowed to military rule on March 24, it was Africa's tenth coup in the past two years, erasing one of that continent's last symbols of democracy.

● Leading GOP liberals in Pennsylvania are seriously considering a "draft" of former Gov. **William Scranton** for the Senate next year. So vulnerable is incumbent Democrat Joseph Clark that as many as a half dozen Republican hopefuls are now expected to enter the party's senatorial primary. Liberals fear that in such a wide-open race, a conservative (perish the thought!) might capture the nomination. By drafting Scranton, they believe, they would force all other Republicans out of the contest. Scranton maintains that he will not again run for public office, but the liberal strategists note that he bowed to party pressure to run for Congress in 1960 and for governor in '62.

● Students at the University of Windsor in Canada voted overwhelmingly against giving money to a student group that wanted to help Americans emigrate to Canada to **avoid the draft**. The vote was 1,141 to 233 against giving the group, Info '67, $200 to place ads in Michigan college papers offering information on how to become Canadian citizens.

● Despite his support of the consular treaty, Sen. **Everett Dirksen** (R.-Ill.) has told friends he will oppose the Administration's plans to expand East-West trade.

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Revolt of the 'Moderates'

Capitol Hill observers were stunned to learn that a semi-secret gathering of "moderate" Republicans met in Washington last week to hatch a revolt against the relatively conservative GOP party leadership in the House and the Senate. Equally as extraordinary, this "Republican" conclave was sponsored by the ultra-liberal National Committee for an Effective Congress, which has a long record of supporting liberal Democrats.

Meeting in the home of NCEC member Laughlin Phillips, publisher of the liberal *Washingtonian* magazine, the revolt-prone Republicans were urged by Sen. Hugh Scott (Pa.) and others to bolt the party line on key issues. Many in the gathering were reportedly opposed to the GOP's "budget-cutting" proposals and its general stand in opposition to LBJ's "soft-on-Soviet" policies and expanded East-West trade.

SCOTT

A Scripps-Howard report commented that Sen. Scott was said to have called the GOP leaders "senior safes" who discouraged independent thinking. Confessing his irritation with Sen. Dirksen for refusing to back him against the more conservative-minded George Murphy for chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, Scott urged his audience to be "daring." He went on to hail the records of such famous "party bolters" as Sens. Jacob Javits of New York and Clifford Case of New Jersey. One House member was quoted as saying that he had "seldom heard a more open invitation to revolt."

Among those Republicans who attended the "meeting": Sens. Scott and J. Caleb Boggs (Del.); Reps. James G. Fulton (Pa.), Florence Dwyer (N.J.), Charles Whalen (Ohio), Charles Mathias (Md.), Seymour Halpern (N.Y.), Robert T. Stafford (Vt.) and Joseph McDade (Pa.).

Another Republican who attended was Rep. Bradford Morse (Mass.), the chief spark plug of the "Wednesday Club," a group of liberal House Republicans.

What strikes regular Republicans as fantastic is that the plans to dynamite the conservatively oriented leadership of the GOP were actually spearheaded by the NCEC.

NCEC officials have admitted that the aim was to encourage Republican moderates to split with GOP Senate and House leaders.

Russell D. Hemenway, NCEC executive director, said he and the group's president Sidney Scheuer, a New York industrialist, warned at the meeting that "Ford and Laird" would lead the Republicans "down the road to oblivion."

Reached by telephone in New York, Scheuer added: "Just as the Democratic Study Group [an organization of liberal House Democrats] exerts pressure on the Democratic leadership, these Republicans should exert pressure on GOP leadership." Scheuer also remarked that Scott praised the NCEC to the skies.

While the NCEC passes itself off as non-partisan because it contributes funds to some liberal Republicans, the group is trying to push the whole country to the left by backing extreme liberals in both parties. As previously pointed out in *Human Events*, it has poured money into the aforementioned DSG, whose members have high-powered some of the most radical legislation through the Congress. Founded in 1951, the NCEC had as its first chairman none other than the leftwing Jimmy Roosevelt, son of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Among the early sponsors: Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., member of the socialistic Americans for Democratic Action; Robert Nathan, New Deal economist and also an ADAer, and Paul Hoffman, prominent foreign aid giveaway artist who not too long ago approved of a plan to have American funds finance a Cuban military school.

Current members include Harry Ashmore, of the leftwing Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions; Henry Steele Commager, a liberal historian who has been a consistent Soviet apologist; and Alvin Hansen, an Harvard economist who champions accelerated federal intervention in the economy. Nevertheless, a number of "Republicans" saw fit to plot their GOP revolt under NCEC's auspices.

• Republican "moderates" were not only coming under fire in Washington for their outrageous activities. Rhode Island's "moderate" GOP Gov. John H. Chafee was being blamed for the party's failure to win the special election held last week to fill the House seat of the late Rep. John Fogarty, a Democrat.

Chafee's hand-picked candidate, James Diprete Jr., Mayor of Cranston, narrowly lost to Democrat Robert O. Tiernan, a state senator, and there will undoubtedly be a recount. But Republican regulars say Diprete would probably have won if he hadn't acted like a liberal Democrat.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

Diprete not only called for a unilateral halt in the U.S. air raids on North Viet Nam, but came out foursquare for repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, the section that permits the states to pass right-to-work laws.

Furthermore, he was one of the most bitter anti-Goldwaterites in 1964. After staying away from the 1964 GOP national convention, he called Barry M. Goldwater, then the GOP's presidential nominee, "a Fascist dictator" and "a fanatic who is deluded by some sort of messianic complex that he is lord and master of the United States."

Conservative Republicans, of course, couldn't stomach Diprete and crossed over party lines to back Tiernan—a supporter of a tough policy in Viet Nam. Top congressional Republicans still remain dazed that Chafee, who reportedly disagreed with Diprete on various issues, tried to sneak this left-wing liberal into office as a Republican.

The TV Strike

The National Right to Work Committee's executive director, Reed Larson, says the TV union's strike against the country's four major networks has driven home to the American public the fact that virtually all of the performers they see on television are compelled to join a union, many of them against their own wishes.

The accuracy of Larson's statement was revealed when NBC newscaster Frank McGhee protested that he had been "compelled" to join the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists four years ago and did not consider the union a qualified bargaining agent.

"I don't want to be compelled to support something that I had no choice in deciding," he declared. "I had no choice in the matter. They don't negotiate for me. I have an agent who does that."

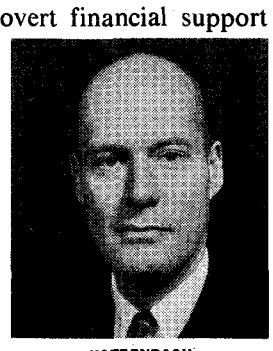
Chet Huntley, who is also refusing to honor the strike and faces expulsion from the 18,000 member union, said "this is the end process of a 30-year conviction that AFTRA is not qualified to act as the bargaining agent for news broadcasters. I will not allow that conviction to cave in on a given night."

But McGhee and Huntley aren't the only ones for whom AFTRA does not speak. According to published accounts, of the 18,000 AFL-CIO members who are on strike only 300 newsmen are actually involved in the dispute. The newsmen are seeking a $325 base salary and a 50 per cent return of all commercial fees on sponsored programs on which they appear.

The strike, speculate some labor experts, may spur passage of a law sponsored by the Right-to-Work Committee which it plans to have introduced this year. The measure would revise Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act to make compulsory unionism illegal everywhere except in states that specifically authorize it by state law. Under Taft-Hartley today, compulsory unionism is legal except in states that forbid it by law.

CIA's Trusted Agent

A three-man presidential commission last week recommended a ban on all covert financial support of student and other private groups and suggested that a public-private organization be set up to openly disburse such aid. Composed of Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, CIA Director Richard Helms and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John Gardner, the commission was set up after the exposure of the CIA's secret financing of the National Student Association and other groups.



KATZENBACH

A number of Washingtonians, however, believe that if Congress establishes any public-private organization to help carry out cold war activities it must thoroughly investigate who is in charge of dispensing funds.

It has now been confirmed, for example, that Cord Meyer Jr., the founder of the fuzzy-headed and super-liberal United World Federalists, was the CIA man in charge of covertly subsidizing the NSA, youth, labor, business, professional and charitable groups. It was Meyer who was responsible for the fact that taxpayer funds were not only channelled to the left-leaning NSA, but to the National Council of Churches, Norman Thomas, leftist revolutionaries and a host of other liberal groups. Anyone who looked at Meyer's background before he was appointed would, of course, have realized that he would favor subsidizing such organizations.

Founder in 1947 of the UWF, which preaches surrendering U.S. sovereignty to the United Nations, Meyer permitted his organization to become a haven for super-liberals.

The UWF has boasted of such presidents as Meyer and Alan Cranston, the former Comptroller of California and a founder of the ultra-liberal California Democratic Council (CDC). Some of the key men during the late 1940s and early 1950s when Meyer's influence in the UWF was still strong: United Auto Workers President Walter P. Reuther and Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas.

The New York *Times* recently referred to Meyer, who jumped from the World Federalists to the CIA in 1951, in this fashion:

"In the late 1940's and early 1950's many liberals who wished to serve their country found in the CIA not only a personal haven, safe from the onslaughts of McCarthyism, but also an opportunity to bring to bear on the problems of the cold war a realistic and liberal understanding of the pluralism of emerging countries. Mr. Meyer and many high officials in the CIA are cases in point."

Reds Stage Demonstrations

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has just released a 55-page document revealing that for the most part not liberals but *bona fide* Communists are behind "Viet Nam Week" in which massive, disruptive demonstrations against U.S. participation in the Viet Nam war have been planned.

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Beghining April 8 and ending April 15 with a scheduled protest march on the United Nations in New York, "Viet Nam Week" should also see such things as a massive demonstration to jam a narrow road that leads to a napalm plant outside of Redwood City, Calif.; a disorderly demonstration at the San Francisco Internal Revenue office; the public burning of draft cards; a series of kangaroo court "war crimes tribunals," sit-ins, lie-downs and other displays by the left. Whatever the outcome, the peaceniks hope to stage the noisiest demonstrations ever.

While the world may believe these activities are spontaneous outbursts against the war, the House Committee has proved their Communist origin.

Communist Bettina Aptheker, notes HCUA, has been the main instigator of the April demonstration. After considerable groundwork, she managed by Sept. 18, 1966, to get 32 persons—many of them members of Communist organizations—to serve as initial sponsors of a meeting to plan a nationwide student strike. Her activities eventually led to the Chicago conference at which the decision to proclaim Viet Nam Week was made.

Detailing names, dates and places, the committee concludes:

"The proposal for a nationwide student strike was completely Communist in origin.

"The Chicago conference, at which the decision to stage "Viet Nam Week" (April 8-15, 1967) was made, instigated and dominated by the Communist Party, USA, and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America.

"By careful selection of a limited list of national sponsors, a deliberate effort has been made in the printed Call to Viet Nam Week to conceal the major role the Communists have played—and are playing—in organizing and promoting this project.

"Communist organizations, the Communist press, Communist fronts, and individual Communists are united in giving their all-out support to Viet Nam Week and all the activities and demonstrations associated with it.

"Communists are playing dominant roles in both the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee. Further, these two organizations have unified their efforts and are cooperating completely in their purpose of staging on April 15 the largest demonstrations against the war in Viet Nam ever to take place in this country."

Viet Nam Week reveals the success of the Communists in using the "united front" strategy, says the committee. "Dr. Martin Luther King's agreement to play a leading role in the April 15 demonstration in New York City, and his freeing Rev. James Bevel from his key position in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to head up the Spring Mobilization Committee, are evidence that the Communists have succeeded, at least partially, in implementing their strategy of using the Viet Nam and civil rights issues in order to strengthen their chances of bringing about a reversal of U.S. policy in Viet Nam. . . ."

LBJ's Anti-Crime Bill

House GOP leaders have named Rep. Richard H. Poff (Va.) to head up a Republican Task Force on Crime to oversee LBJ's proposed anti-crime legislation (HR 5037), now undergoing hearings in both the House and the Senate. Poff, the second-ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee, has already taken issue with the President, protesting that his bill leaves out important measures to prevent crime and invites federal control over local law enforcement agencies.

POFF

Poff also insists that dangerous federal controls are lurking in LBJ's plans to distribute federal funds to local governments. Under section 411 of LBJ's anti-crime bill, he warned, the U.S. attorney general is given almost carte blanche authority to "establish criteria to achieve an equitable distribution among the states of assistance under this act."

This would not be so consequential, he said, "but for the fact that Section 407 empowers the attorney general to withhold grants previously authorized and allocated when he determines that the grantee has somehow failed to comply with some provision of the Act or regulations promulgated by the attorney general."

Poff wondered if this distribution formula might not lead to "utter and abject compliance on the part of local law enforcement officials."

What worries the Virginia congressman is that LBJ's war against crime may, unintentionally, lay the groundwork for "a mammoth police pyramid with its apex centered in Washington and its base spread into every precinct and hamlet in America."

Poff also criticized LBJ for not supporting the use of authorized wiretaps in serious criminal matters. A majority of the President's Crime Commission, noted Poff, supported wiretapping by law enforcement officers "acting under court order and supervision, both in national security cases and in criminal investigations. The President rejected the proposals so far as criminal investigations are concerned." Poff maintained, however, that police officers, "acting under court orders, should be permitted to protect society by use of wiretap and eavesdropping devices *in investigation of major crimes.*"

Neither the President nor his Crime Commission, Poff said, ever came "to grips with the problems of law enforcement raised by recent Supreme Court decisions. I have reference to those decisions which affect interrogation, confessions, right to counsel and Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination."

A respectable body of legal opinion, he noted, "holds that these decisions have retarded if not defeated the process of law enforcement." As a first vital step toward remedying actions of the high court, said Poff, the Congress should immediately take steps to reverse the Supreme Court's decisions nullifying "confessions, otherwise voluntary and free from coercion or promise of reward, because of delay in bringing the citizen before a magistrate."

• One reason LBJ's "war on crime" has not gotten off to a particularly good start: his selection of Ramsey Clark as attorney general. Clark is opposed to capital punishment, the use of wiretaps in the case of organized crime and the overturning of Supreme Court decisions limiting the admission of confessions in Court.

Taxes Aid Leftists

New York's Mobilization for Youth, the federally-financed anti-poverty agency, is once again bankrolling the radical left. A 1964 series in the New York *Daily News* disclosed that MFY was honeycombed with professional leftists "who have used its facilities to foment rent strikes and racial disorders." When an FBI probe uncovered 37 staffers with pro-Communist records, MFY officials promised to clean house.

But MFY is back at the old stand. The agency is using federal funds to defend ten peaceniks arrested after they staged a wild anti-Viet Nam demonstration during High Mass in Gotham's St. Patrick's Cathedral.

An MFY spokesman says the organization has taken the case because the defendants are "indigent" and unable to afford lawyers' fees. But according to police files, all ten are over 21, most are college educated and all but one are employed. In short, they are not the disadvantaged ghetto-dwellers that MFY implies.

Incredibly, the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington has defended the use of tax dollars to finance the peaceniks' defense. OEO's contract with MFY enables the agency to "handle all legal matters for an individual who cannot afford an attorney" regardless of the reason for his arrest.

McCloskey Coddled?

Senate and House lawmakers are looking into the facts surrounding the Department of Justice's announcement last week that it had agreed to settle a $4.9-million damage suit against the builders of a Veterans Administration hospital in Boston for $1.6 million—just under one-third of the original amount asked for.

The settlement was reached with the controversial and politically powerful contracting firm of McCloskey & Co., Inc., of Philadelphia, the chief contractor, and two Boston firms: Coolidge Shepley, Bulfinch & Abbott, architects, and Charles T. Main, Inc., engineers.

Filed in 1964, the suit charged that McCloskey and Co. performed defective construction work and that the two other firms made faulty inspections. The government filed the suit after the siding of the hospital peeled off one day following completion of the project.

Many of the nation's lawmakers suspect possible "coddling" of the McCloskey firm because of its long-time Democratic connections. The firm's chairman, Matthew McCloskey, has been a perennial Democratic fund raiser and has continued to land big government contracts despite the several political and financial scrapes in which he's been involved.

McCloskey, for example, came under fire in 1964 when Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) accused him of deliberately overpaying $35,000 on a performance bond to Bobby Baker's insurance partner in order to pump money into Democratic coffers and win the Washington, D.C., stadium contract.

According to Williams, this "$35,000 additional payoff on this stadium contract was arranged for the express purpose of channelling a $25,000 political contribution into the Democratic campaign fund and to charge this $25,000 contribution as a business expense item on a government contract." McCloskey denied any intentional wrongdoing, but admitted there had been an overpayment due to a "goof."

Williams later bared the fact that three retirment home projects the federal government paid the McCloskey interests to build in Florida are now in default to the government to the extent of $9 million.

McCloskey has won several government jobs by submitting low bids, but the costs mysteriously skyrocket once he's sewed up the contract. McCloskey, for example, constructed the Rayburn House Office Building for Congress. Considered a massive affront to good taste, it has been dubbed the "most expensive office building in the world," with an estimated cost now of over $150 million—twice its original contract price. Nevertheless, McCloskey has continued to get good treatment from the government and won a contract just last year to build a new U.S. Mint in Philadelphia.

Hence the belief that the government's willingness to trim its damage suit may be just some more of its "McCloskey coddling."

Kirk's Victory

Gov. Claude Kirk of Florida, a Goldwater Republican who swept into office in 1966, won another stunning victory last week as Republicans gained 26 new members in Florida's reapportioned legislature — most of them conservatives. Having laid his personal prestige on the line, Kirk now has veto control in both the House and Senate and can boast that Florida has become the first Southern state to join the two-party system in vigorous fashion. Kirk feels the election was in great part an endorsement of his administration's goals of reducing crime and holding down taxes.

KIRK

Politicos are saying the victory may well have paved the way for a Republican to pick up the U.S. Senate seat of George Smathers, who has promised to retire in 1968. Rep. Ed Gurney (R.-Fla.), who has a 97 per cent conservative voting record according to the Americans for Constitutional Action, is expected to run for this post.

The lineup in the new Florida legislature will be considerably different when it convenes this week. Picking up big gains in the Fort Lauderdale and Cape Kennedy areas, the Republicans defeated several top-ranking Democrats, including the chairmen of the important House Appropriations Committee and the Citrus Committee. The GOP now has 20 members in the 48-man Senate and 48 members in a 117-member House. They previously had only 11 Senate members and 26 House members.

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William O. Douglas: Dove on a High Perch

From the Richmond *News Leader*

It passed almost unnoticed in the news, but Mr. Justice William O. Douglas on March 20 delivered himself of one of the most remarkable muddle-headed dissenting opinions of his long and muddled career.

He called for judicial answers to a string of questions having to do with the war in Viet Nam; and though he piously avowed that for his own part, he was "intimating no opinion on the merits," the very asking of the questions made it clear that in Mr. Justice Douglas, the peaceniks have picked up a dove who occupies a very lofty perch.

The Douglas opinion was buried in a long list of routine orders denying appeals in a number of pending cases. This was an appeal sought by a petitioner named Mitchell, who had been sentenced to five years for refusing to report for military induction. Eight members of the Supreme Court voted, in effect, to affirm the conviction without even hearing argument; in the legal term, they denied certiorari. Only Douglas dissented.

Mitchell's defense was that the "war" in Viet Nam is being conducted in violation of various treaties to which the U.S. is a signatory party, especially the Treaty of London of 1945. This declares that "waging a war of aggression" is a "crime against peace" imposing "individual responsibility." Article 8 of the treaty provides that even though a soldier may act pursuant to an order of his government or of a superior officer, that fact "shall not free him of responsibility" for his crime in waging aggressive war.

Justice Douglas strongly implies court could have found Viet Nam an "aggressive war" and thus make "war criminals" of our soldiers fighting there.

Douglas' reasoning should fit well into plans of Bertrand Russell (above) to try President Johnson for "war crimes."

Mitchell argued that because the war in Viet Nam is an aggressive war, it is in violation of the Treaty of London; and, therefore, he could not participate in such a war, even upon orders of his government, without exposing himself to trial and punishment as a war criminal. Douglas was plainly ready to buy this.

Douglas recalled that at the time of the Nuremburg trials, the late Mr. Justice Jackson had said that "if certain acts in violation of treaties are crimes, they are crimes whether the United States does them or whether Germany does them." Douglas also noted that under the Constitution treaties are part of the supreme law of the land. Then he took off into space:

This case presents the questions:

(1) whether the Treaty of London is a treaty within the meaning of Art. VI, clause 2;

(2) whether the question as to the waging of an aggressive "war" is in the context of this criminal prosecution a justiciable question;

(3) whether the Viet Nam episode is a "war" in the sense of the treaty;

(4) whether petitioner has standing to raise the question;

(5) whether, if he has, it may be tendered as a defense in this criminal case or in amelioration of the punishment.

These are extremely sensitive and delicate questions. But they should, I think, be answered. Even those who think that the Nuremberg judgments were unconstitutional by our guarantee relating to ex post facto laws would have to take a different view of the Treaty of London that purports to lay down a standard of future conduct for all the signatories.

I intimate no opinion on the merits, but I think the petition for certiorari should be granted. We have here a recurring question in present-day Selective Service cases.

What we also have here is a recurring question, as old as the Constitution itself, going to the doctrine of separation of powers. It is a novel thought (though it is not so novel that Douglas should think it) that the Supreme Court has some judicial authority that rises above the war powers vested in Congress and in the President as commander-in-chief.

Implicit is the reasoning that a majority of the Supreme Court could make "war criminals" out of the 500,000 American servicemen now in Viet Nam. All that would be required, in the Douglas view, is a judicial opinion certifying that this "episode" is an "aggressive war." If so, it violates the Treaty of London and thus makes criminals of fighting men.

One expects such a farrago of nonsense from Bertrand Russell, who has proposed a mock trial of Lyndon Johnson. But it is a bizarre experience to see the theory propounded by a member of the highest court in our land.

□ □ □

TECHNICALLY INCORRECT—The papers said all American troops have now left France. Technically, that's not accurate. About 100,000 are still buried there.

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Laird Wants Secrecy Broken

How Much Do the Soviets Ship Hanoi?

By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

The time finally came today [March 24] when a name Republican in Congress had the guts to question the Administration's secrecy lid on the exact extent of Soviet involvement in the Viet war.

This is supposed to be a most delicate subject. President Johnson shies away from it. So do both Secretary of State Rusk and Defense Secretary McNamara. All three, before and since the Guam conference, have avoided it like bad breath, aware of the inconsistency of a two-faced policy—seeking peace with Moscow while trying to win the Viet war at the same time.

But Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.) brought the whole sordid, hypocritical mess out into the open in a long, detailed House speech. Laird speaks for his party in the House, his leadership role actually superior to GOP leader Gerald Ford (Mich.), who is the better front man but less articulate.

Laird said the American people had a right to know that the Soviet bloc—not Red China—supplies more than 80 per cent of the war materials going to North Viet Nam. And that the whole Hanoi war effort would be pretty well obliterated but for this assistance. Moreover, as far as he was concerned, the Administration was twisting the facts to conceal the ugly truth.

Unfortunately, what any member of the House says, no matter how significant, seldom gets the headlines. Today, for example, a whole covey of Senate hawks and doves shot off their mouths about Viet policy—and not one of them touched even obliquely on this key Soviet aid issue.

Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.) feels it's hypocritical to seek "peace" with Russia when Moscow provides 80 per cent of North Viet Nam's war material.

What Laird says about it is definitely important because he is a member of the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. And this subcommittee receives on a classified basis the latest authentic intelligence information on Soviet military aid to North Viet Nam.

So obviously Laird could not use the official data in presenting his estimates of Soviet bloc shipping tonnage into Haiphong, the number of Soviet anti-aircraft guns, SAM missiles, planes, trucks, etc., supplied to Ho Chi Minh.

"Why this material should in any way be classified," said Laird, "is, of course, hard for the American citizen to understand." And he pointed out that Moscow had the information, the Soviet press headlined it, the Hanoi Communists knew what they were getting and Peking knew how much Soviet aid was being supplied.

"Only the American people," Laird went on, "the people who are asked to support 'bridge-building programs,' are kept ignorant of the 'bridges' the Soviet Union is building on a daily basis to Hanoi."

He then accused the Administration of deliberately passing on as fact the "myth that China is the principal support for North Viet Nam's aggression."

Laird specifically named Vice President Humphrey and Sen. Warren Magnuson (D.-Wash.) as the most recent spreaders of the phony notion that there has been a "tempering" of the Soviets' aggressive intent. This amounts to a "denial of reality," he said, when both know from the classified record that the Soviet bloc is "the primary supplier of assistance to North Viet Nam."

This continued flow of Soviet war material is the heart of the issue as to whether a little more escalation of our bombings would bring Hanoi to the conference table. But it is always evasively handled by those in charge, as if the flow of war material can be stifled once it reaches the Communist north, regardless of whether it flows in bigger and better from outside the borders.

One of the few senators to try to get the situation in perspective was, oddly enough, Vance Hartke (D.-Ind.) a distinct dove. During the recent debate on the consular treaty with Moscow, Hartke said the "average American" at least appreciated the inconsistency in "bridge-building" at the same time Russia "is supplying weapons and ammunition to North Viet Nam for use against Americans."

But it has been left to Laird to supply in detail the dimensions of this aid. His estimates just have to be somewhat in the range of the secret information given to him. Otherwise he would not have offered them as indicative of the extent of assistance.

For example, his "conservative estimates" on visits of Communist-bloc ships to the port of Haiphong showed an average monthly delivery of 178,500 tons of cargo in Soviet and Polish ships. Chinese tonnage is less than one-tenth as large.

The Soviet bloc also, he said, has supplied 3,000 SAM missiles, now either in place or in storage areas, plus 6,000 or more anti-aircraft guns, and more than 200 radar complexes.

On an over-all basis, he said, he would "estimate with no hesitation" that since October 1966 Soviet-bloc aid has been running at a rate of more than $5 billion annually.

Why does the Administration not only keep the lid on the factual, precise information, but try to understress the extent of Soviet commitment? The answer is hard to come by, but it is considered logical to a degree.

It is, in effect, that we are trying to butter up the Soviets through "bridge-building" agreements, hoping in the process that a semblance of "victory" can be achieved in the Viet war before the 1968 presidential elections. A "victory" which Moscow would grudgingly accept for the trade concessions inherent in the bridge-building program.

And this delicate balancing act with its overtones of politics requires the White House to consider unmentionable the fact that Soviet guns and bullets are killing American boys.

Ho Counts On Faltering U.S. Will

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Some Americans—officials and newsmen—have expressed surprise at Ho Chi Minh's publication of his recent exchange of letters with President Johnson, an exchange which the latter hoped to keep as secret as the negotiations which he proposed.

Thereby, they reveal their political innocence. After 50 years of Red terror, these people still do not understand what makes Communists tick. They cannot grasp that to believing Reds, Marxism is still the wave of the future.

To the true believer, communism is spreading because it must. Its opponents—capitalists, bourgeois, religious men—are obsolescent. And the proof is, when communism attacks them, they fight back defensively or not at all. Containment is a form of defense. Defense cannot win against resolute activists who have history on their side.

Ho illustrated the "invincibility" of communism by taking North Viet Nam from the faint-hearted French. Had Paris been resolute, Dien Bien Phu would have been a minor defeat instead of a knockout.

Why, then, be surprised that not only this same Ho, but his backers in Moscow and Peking, are convinced that the American people lack the guts to eliminate communism from South Viet Nam?

If they had the will to win, why does their President harp continually on his will to peace? He should be repeating his exhortation to his armed forces to "nail that coonskin to the door," as he did once.

Yet over the last three years, the leader of the world's most powerful country has made repeated appeals for peace to Ho, tried to enlist the good offices of his "friends" in the Kremlin, and apparently welcomed the efforts of self-appointed "mediators" like Secretary-General U Thant and Prime Minister Wilson.

Why then should Ho not consider President Johnson's latest stealthy appeal as just a further sign of faltering will? Why else did LBJ want negotiations to be kept secret? Why the guff about history judging both sides "badly" if they fail to find "a just and peaceful solution"? To Communists peace is not an end in itself and the only just solution is a Communist take-over.

Every peace whimper by a U.S. senator, every student demonstration in favor of "making love, not war," every draft-card burner, every peace blast by an intellectual or religious big-wig, every "strike for peace" by misled women, Harrison Salisbury's publication of Hanoi's propaganda legends as fact; above all, the play-up of obscure peaceniks by U.S. TV, radio and press—these have convinced Communists everywhere that, sooner rather than later, the decadent Americans will wash their hands of South Viet Nam.

To shorten the war, our President will do well to forget further peace appeals for a while and proclaim to all the world his own agreement with Marshal Ky, as the latter eloquently expressed it at the Guam meeting:

"We are not going to accept Communists in South Viet Nam. . . . We will never accept coalition with Communists. We will never accept the so-called Front of Liberation."

Once Ho and his friends understand this, the war will soon be over.

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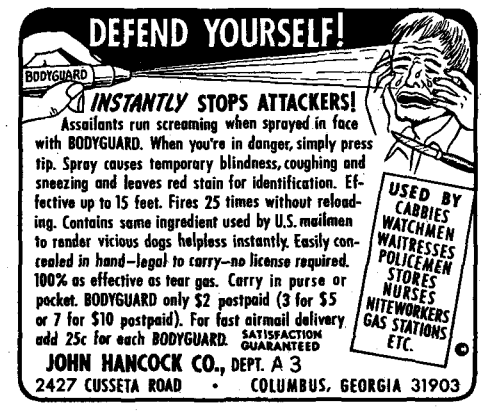

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H. C. (Chad) McClellan, left, and Dr. William H. Reynolds tell a Los Angeles news conference that private enterprise efforts to combat Negro unemployment in Watts are meeting with success.

Through Private Effort

Reagan's Ambitious Plan To End Negro Unemployment

By VICTOR RIESEL

It is strange how little of Ronnie Reagan filters across the land in this Telstar era. He's typecast.

People passionately cheer him or jeer him without knowing him. Especially don't they know him outside the pale. The substance, like it or not, differs from the shadow.

On the West Coast some days ago, I heard someone ask the California governor why he is so much better in person than in the old films.

"Because I'm writing the script now," he retorted.

And he is. Inside the pale, for example, they may know of his relations with the Negro community. But not outside.

The governor told us that day that he is organizing to go into "every pocket of unemployment to see if we cannot remove from the welfare roles those who really want to work and are capable of providing for themselves. And I'm sure it will meet with success statewide."

But Reagan talked not of a public welfare operation. He's free enterprise all the way. He believes that with state backing the Negro communities of the nation—some call them ghettos—can be succored by the nation's commerce and industry.

I have heard him tell the story of a confrontation between Chad McClellan, a Los Angeles business executive, and a hundred young Negroes who admitted leading the grim Watts riots.

"McClellan appeared personally before that group of young men," said Reagan. "Everyone had a jail record—young men who admitted they had led in the riots but had turned around and organized themselves actually to curb disorder in the future. And this was a group of fellows who, if you sent them to Viet Nam, you would not have to send weapons. McClellan challenged them to take jobs. Of the 100 of them, 82 accepted the challenge.

"And today they are working in private enterprise jobs with records of no tardiness, no absenteeism. Some of them even are moving up with promotions."

Thus, the governor sees the business community—and not the federal government—as the salvation of the Negro community—from Watts to Harlem.

As Reagan talked, his tone hit an evangelical note—a blend of morality and statistics.

"Actually," the governor told his listeners, "in the curfew area of Los Angeles in 16 months, McClellan's effort put 17,500 unemployed into private enterprise jobs.

"More than two-thirds of these newly employed still remain in those jobs," he said. "Half of the third which left simply moved on to better paying employment."

The governor, with his penchant for anecdotage, told another story.

"They put to work so many people of the Watts district that recently when they went into the area to try and find 30 qualified bus drivers they could not find a single unemployed man qualified to take this job.

"There still remains for the rest of us a great human job of salvage in the other less than 50 per cent of the unemployed [in Watts]. But we are moving on from there because this Chad McClellan has taken an assignment in state government at no cost to the taxpayers. He will mobilize on a statewide basis the same kind of program in private industry all over the state."

Reagan hit this like the old trade unionist he once was—with organizational skill.

Whether or not this is part of the big coast-to-coast push—again from Harlem to Watts—by the National Republican Committee for a rapprochement with the nation's Negroes—the fact is that Reagan has a deep faith in it. It could succeed—from Watts to Baltimore, via Cleveland. It could cool the summer. It could spawn new political coalitions.

It could give Ronald Reagan in 1968 a more realistic image across the land than that which his angry critics have hung on him as a campus cut-up and the silver screen's man in the white hat.

Reagan is now writing his own script.

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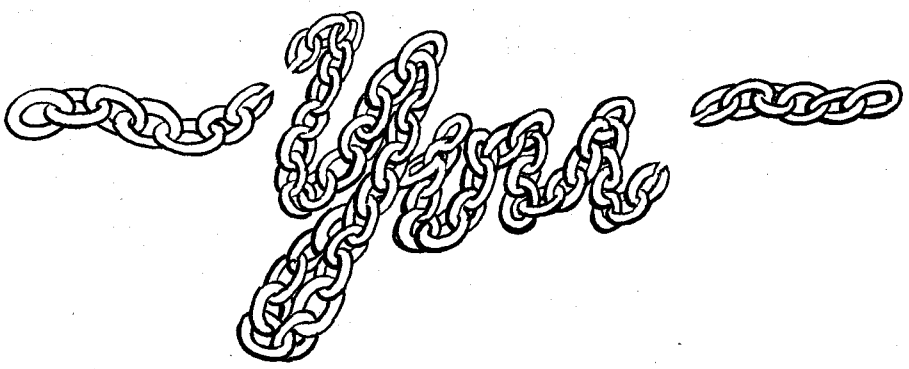

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The Inside Story of 'Ramparts' Magazine

An exclusive report on the men who have made 'Ramparts' the most talked-about publication on the Left

By M. M. MORTON

Just moments away from San Francisco's bustling Barbary Coast of old and the busty topless waitresses of today are the offices of *Ramparts* magazine, a slick-paper sensation-monger that has unique sources of news, a seemingly unceasing flow of funds and an impact on today's political world that makes even the President and Congress take notice.

Though its positions parallel the Communist line on Viet Nam, the FBI, the CIA and a host of other issues, the five-year-old publication has thrust itself onto the national scene in a massive way. Boasting of editors who have been high in the echelons of the Kennedy Administration, including McGeorge Bundy's hand-picked staff man on the super-secret National Security Council, *Ramparts* has rocked the country—and even the world—with sensational exposes tailored to its left-wing ideology.

The magazine stirred an international controversy just over a year ago when it ran the story of Master Sergeant Donald Duncan, a decorated Viet Nam hero who denounced America's role in that far-off Asian land. Still later, it received national publicity by detailing Michigan State University's links with the Central Intelligence Agency.

Its most stunning triumph to date, of course, has been the amazing story of how the Central Intelligence Agency, through an intricate maze of foundations, secretly funded the left-wing National Student Association for 15 years.

While this massive subsidy was sheer folly in view of NSA's radical positions, *Ramparts'* purpose was to discredit the entire activities of the CIA, whose anti-Communist successes in Indonesia, Brazil and British Guiana in recent years have manifestly upset the left. Moreover, *Ramparts* provided the leads for a profusion of newspaper stories revealing that CIA funds had been funnelled to a variety of groups, many with a legitimate anti-Communist purpose.

By unloading its bombshell, the magazine managed to blow the CIA's cover for a wide array of activities, and the hemorrhaging of national defense secrets is not yet over.

Nor has *Ramparts* any intention of slowing down. Though $1.2 million in debt, its backers are putting out a weekly tabloid (*Sunday Ramparts*) and are trying to acquire an advertising agency, a book publishing house and an ultra-high frequency TV station to promote its virulently left-wing views.

Surfeited with journalistic success, *Ramparts* publishers, editors and writers seem to move with an extraordinary ease in and about the power centers of government. Contributing Editor Marcus Raskin, for example, once served on the National Security Council. Arthur Waskow, another contributing editor, worked for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and was a White House consultant on defense matters.

Managing Editor Robert Scheer, who recently met with representatives of the Viet Cong and has been an admirer of Fidel Castro, can just as easily meet with Sen. Robert F. Kennedy and his entourage in Bobby's U.N. Plaza apartment overlooking the East River in New York. In short, *Ramparts* has arrived.

Who runs *Ramparts* and where does it get its money? To find the answers to these questions has required a long digging operation and still not all the facts are known. Space permits only a truncated report of what was uncovered.

Ramparts' founder and publisher is Edward Keating, an intense liberal and Catholic convert who began his magazine back in 1962 as a "fifthly" of literary comment with a Catholic slant. By 1964, with circulation peaking at 2,500, friends counseled him to turn it into a left-wing sideshow. Typical covers after that: Barry Goldwater as a rattlesnake, Ho Chi Minh crossing the Delaware.

Much of the pizzazz injected into the magazine since then has come from Editor Warren Hinckle III, 28. Chief resident ideologue is Robert Scheer, a bearded New Leftnik from New York with impeccable credentials of protest from Berkeley. He is chief architect of *Ramparts'* get-out-of-Viet Nam fixation.

Ramparts expressed its shock and dismay in expensive advertisements in the New York *Times*, Washington *Post* and San Francisco *Chronicle*, over CIA sleuthing, use of covers and channeling of funds through secret "conduits," but an appraisal of the record clearly shows that *Ramparts* is four-square for undercover operations, 100 per cent for secret funds and heartily endorses hidden conduits—so long as they mesh with Keating's oft-expressed anti-anti-communism. No holds barred, in other words, except for the CIA, FBI, HCUA.

Chemical Research Exposé

The March expose of the CIA was written by Sol Stern, an under-30 news editor specializing in CIA affairs. This is not Stern's first article attacking CIA, nor, he promises, will it be his last.

A piece by Stern last year attacked the University of Pennsylvania because it offered students a course covering aspects of strategic intelligence and foreign policy in its broader intelligence setting. Stern attacked the private college for its support of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the famous Cold War academy of scholars under the direction of Prof. Robert Strausz-Hupe which has produced such reasoned analyses of Communist intentions as *Protracted Conflict*, and the suggested American response, *A Forward Strategy for America*.

What most upset Stern was the federally funded research on campus by chemists and biology experts which may have produced suggestions, for example, for the defoliation of Vietnamese jungle areas to prevent their use by Viet Cong base camps and supply columns and the destruction of food crops in Viet Cong-controlled areas.

The exposure of the chemical research program was accomplished through the use of a snoop, Robin Maisel, who, with Russell Stetler of the May 2nd Movement, used to show pro-Viet Cong films to college students. Maisel had been a messenger for a book store and on several occasions delivered packages to

Managing Editor Scheer has written favorably about Robert F. Kennedy (above) in Ramparts.

the closely guarded quarters where the biological research was under way.

By carefully noting the titles of the volumes—he also checked titles for the previous six months—by keeping his eyes open while at the laboratory and by a little eavesdropping, Maisel was able to carry out a story about "Operation Spicerack" which led to a Ramparts **breach of another national security project.**

Maisel also took his information to the Philadelphia Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, one of the multitudinous peacenik groups with strong links to the Communists. In Maisel's case his own ties were obvious: He is the Philadelphia contact for the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth affiliate of the Trotskyite Communist group, Socialist Workers party. This was snooping condoned—nay praised—by *Ramparts*.

Ramparts' endorsement of this tactic is further revealed in a recent prospectus sent out by the Radical Education Project of Ann Arbor, Mich. REP calls itself an "independent education, research and publication program, initiated by Students for a Democratic Society, devoted to the cause of democratic radicalism and aspiring to the creation of a new left in America."

Among the projects already begun by REP is its own international espionage organization, which it frankly calls an "international intelligence network." REP describes its need for "quick, incisive sources of intelligence on issues as they develop . . . " and says it now has sources scattered around the world, including "Vietnamese rebels and neutrals." Also, it says, "one former staff member has recently returned from Guatemala where he has made extensive contacts with Guatemalan guerrillas."

Strange Advertisements

This far-flung intelligence network is sponsored by a variety of prominent national leftists, including at least two well-known Communists, Victor Perlo and Dr. Philip S. Foner. Other persons sponsoring REP's activities are: Father Philip Berrigan, Julian Bond, Barrows Dunham, Hal Draper, Jules Feiffer, W. H. Ferry, Norm Fruchter, Paul Goodman, Nat Hentoff, David Horowitz, Leo Huberman, Paul Jacobs, Julius Jacobson, Andrew Kopkind, William Kunstler, Staughton Lynd, Herbert Marcuse, Seymour Melman, Jack Minnis, Linus Pauling, Bishop James A. Pike, Marcus Raskin, Richard Shaull, Harvey Swados, Michael Walzer, Arthur I. Waskow, Harvey Wheeler, William Appleman Williams, Marshall Windmiller, and Howard Zinn.

Of the group one, Marcus Raskin, is on *Ramparts'* board of directors, and 11 have contributed articles to the magazine: Bond, Feiffer, Ferry, Jacobs, Pike, Hentoff, Waskow, Williams, Windmiller, Zinn—and Sol Stern, author of the very *Ramparts* articles that bled profusely over CIA intelligence operations.

The latest article attacking the CIA is *Ramparts'* fourth, and the Keating publication has carried three pieces ripping into the FBI. To those who wonder why no articles expose Soviet espionage, Viet Cong torture or Chinese Communist duplicity, Editor Sol Stern has a comeback: "Because we don't have good contacts in those countries." (In actuality, they have better contacts than many long-established publications.)

The real reason would appear to be that any such treatment by Ramparts **might offend some of its precious few advertisers.**

Ramparts in the past year has run a full-page advertisement for the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, named by the U.S. attorney general as a Communist-front group; an advertisement promoting the Draft Program of the 18th National Convention of the Communist party; and a full-page ad for the Progressive Labor party, the national Communist group which follows the current outpourings from Peking. No other na-

M. M. Morton is the pen name of an expert on internal security affairs.

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Managing Editor Robert Scheer, left, and publisher Edward Keating, are the top people in the Ramparts organization. Interestingly, both men ran as "doves" in Democratic congressional primaries and lost.

tionally circulated general magazine has carried these advertisements. Other ads have appeared for such left-wing organizations as Americans for Democratic Action, United World Federalists and Women Strike for Peace.

In addition, for months the inside back cover has offered to sell a Scottish island, Inch Kenneth. The island belongs to *Ramparts* contributing editor Jessica Mitford, author of *The American Way of Death,* who is also known as Decca Treuhaft. Miss Mitford has been identified as a Communist party member by several witnesses testifying before congressional committees and in federal courts.

Perhaps the best identification, however, was provided in the Sept. 19, 1946, issue of the *People's Daily World,* which reported that she was the county financial secretary of the Communist Party of San Francisco and a member of the Twin Peaks Club of the CP.

In the interim Miss Mitford has belonged to more than a dozen officially cited Communist fronts, and as recently as January appeared in New York as a sponsor at a dinner honoring William L. Patterson, chairman of the National Negro Commission of the Communist party. She spoke and Gus Hall spoke.

Miss Mitford and her husband, attorney Robert Treuhaft of Oakland, were lionized in a *Ramparts* article last year, which portrayed them as signs of "progressive development" in the area. Treuhaft himself has been named as a longtime Communist party member on numerous occasions by witnesses testifying under oath and was also the object of indisputable identification in the *People's Daily World* of April 29, 1946, which said he was a member of the Haymarket Club of CP, a cell set aside for lawyers.

Ramparts **publisher Edward Keating revels in his gadfly role to the Establishment, as the New York** Times **sees his job. He is also quite clear about his foreign policy outlook. "If anything marks American political orientation and direction," he wrote recently, "it is its paranoia over communism. If our policy-makers had their way, we would not only contain communism, we would destroy it."**

It is to counter this "paranoia" that Keating has dedicated *Ramparts.* His use of the verbal overkill, as above, also carried him a few months ago to refer to the Communist newspaper, *People's World,* as a "reactionary" publication.

Two years ago Keating addressed an open letter to President Johnson, which epitomizes his bitterness and addiction to sarcasm: "We propose that you now carry your policies to their logical conclusion: the United States should occupy every country in the world and thus make this planet forever safe from *the* menace [i.e., communism] . . . . There are, of course, exceptions, such as the great Republics of South Africa and West Germany, which don't *need* to be converted."

Last October Keating called a press conference and with tears in his eyes, and his voice breaking, solefully predicted that once the November elections were behind him Lyndon Johnson would launch an all-out invasion of North Viet Nam. When December came and there was still no invasion, Keating took the stump and rearranged his prediction timetable; it would come right after the new year because Lyndon needed it to wind up the war before the 1968 election campaign.

Publisher's Leftism

This vindictiveness toward Johnson spills over constantly in *Ramparts'* pages and the magazine ran long excerpts from Barbara Garson's off-Broadway play, *MacBird,* which implicates Johnson in the assassination of President Kennedy. (*Ramparts* is also looking out for evidence of a right-wing conspiracy in the Kennedy murder.)

Keating's leftism was unknown a few years ago, but he holds it with such intensity that it obviously isn't a programmed attitude dictated by his public relations men. (They reportedly told him to turn the magazine left to make it a financial success.) Keating began active participation in anti-Viet Nam rallies in early 1965 and has appeared and spoken before more than 50 meetings throughout the country.

Ramparts magazine has become one of the leading publications of America's "New Left" sign-carrying brigade.

One panel he appeared on is illustrative of his poor choice of companions. It was a November 1965 session in San Francisco on "The Shrinking Press, News Management and Thought Control," presented by the Bay Area Friends of the *People's World,* the Communist weekly.

Besides Keating the panel members were Dr. Carlton Goodlett, now a *Ramparts* director; Sidney Rogers, who is editor of Harry Bridges' union newspaper; and Steve Murdock, longtime Communist and editor of *People's World.*

In January 1966 Keating announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination in the 11th Congressional District, the San Francisco Peninsula, and spent his entire campaign pointing to the black clouds over Viet Nam. After losing, Keating made a specific point of not endorsing his Democratic opponent, who had taken a hawkish attitude on Viet Nam. Keating's researcher during this period was Jerold C. Gray, who had made a two-year career out of being anti-HCUA following his 1960 arrest during the City Hall riots that disrupted HCUA hearings.

One of Keating's main projects right now is heading up the West Coast division of Spring Mobilization, the left-wing movement that plans a week-long national demonstration against the war in Viet Nam starting April 8. Keating's Mobilization group contains avowed Trotskyites and professed Communists, including Bettina Aptheker and other members of the Communist-controlled W.E.B. DuBois Club.

These alliances do not seem to bother Keating, however, and he has been quoted as saying he is "not the least concerned" about the violently anti-U.S. attitude of the DuBoisers. "We have only one political policy," he explains, "and that is non-exclusionary." Anyone opposed to the U.S. actions in Viet Nam is welcome.

In its financial report for the three weeks ending Feburary 2, Keating's West Coast office of Spring Mobilization listed income of $1,136. According to the New York *Sunday News,* some of this money is known to have come from Albert (Mickey) Lima, Communist party chairman for northern California.

Keating, his wife and five children live in the exclusive residential community of Atherton on the Peninsula, far from the Negro ghettos of the bay area which regularly provide reading fare for *Ramparts* readers. It wasn't far from Atherton, in Menlo Park, where Keating first began *Ramparts.* The magazine originally was also printed right in Menlo Park, but is now farmed out to a Denver printing firm.

The editorial offices were moved from Menlo Park to the clangor of San Francisco's North Beach because, said Editor Hinckle, Menlo Park "was a ridiculous place to publish a magazine." He apparently has never heard of Pleasantville, N.Y.

The 28-year-old Hinckle, who formerly was on the San Francisco *Chronicle,* is credited in some circles with being the miracle worker who lifted the magazine out of the doldrums and made it a general circulation muck-raker. He is given credit for some of the more sensational layouts, typography and story treatment, and shares with Keating any medals for the magazine's purposefully iconoclastic tone.

It was just a few years ago that Hinckle was graduated from the University of San Francisco, where he edited the school paper, and immediately opened a campaign for city supervisor. He lost and wound up promotion director of the sickly *Ramparts.*

Today Hinckle, his wife and baby live in an olive-drab Victorian mansion in a gradually decaying San Francisco neighborhood. The old house tells an interesting tale, for it illuminates the constant circles within circles of the Ramparts **story.**

The house is owned by Mrs. June Dunn, administrative secretary of San Francisco Men for Peace, a now-moribund Vietnik group. The tenant before Hinckle was attorney Marvin Stender, member of the Executive Committee of the local chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, a cited Communist front.

Scheer's Radicalism

Probably the best known nationally of *Ramparts'* staffers is Managing Editor Robert Scheer, who, at 30, has made a career of New Leftism. A former member of the pro-Castro Fair Play for Cuba Committee, he is the most articulate of the *Ramparts* crew and contends that he is an anti-Communist.

Last year Scheer ran for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Congress in Berkeley, hinging his entire campaign on getting out of the war in Viet Nam and getting into the "War on Poverty." Several weeks ago, Scheer traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, to meet with the Communist-controlled International Union of Students and representatives of the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Communist Viet Cong in South Viet Nam.

Not publicized in his race for Congress but revealed later was the fact that Scheer's campaign coordinator was Carl Bloice, a 28-year-old Communist party member. Bloice's CP membership was hardly a secret; for several years he had been a by-lined staff writer for *People's World,* the Communist weekly on the West Coast, and then he was publications director of the Communist-controlled W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

From Berkeley to D.C.

At last summer's Communist party convention in New York City, Bloice was elected to the CP's National Committee and the requirements for serving on that policy board make it clear Bloice has been a CP member since at least January 1964, although intelligence agencies place it many years earlier.

Just two months ago the newsletter of the Robert Scheer campaign—he is keeping his organization intact under the name of Community for New Politics (CNP)—carried a social note: "Carl Bloice, heretofore coordinator for CNP, has left Berkeley for the larger battlefield in Washington, D.C., where he will be a correspondent for *People's World* and *The Worker.* At a farewell party December 23 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Scheer, Carl was presented with several going-away gifts, including a larger than life poster of Mao-Tse

Continued on next page

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JOE LUPPINO

The LSD-beatnik-hippie set gets a great deal of attention from Ramparts. Here, psychedelic poet Allen Ginsberg (in striped hat) marches in anti-war parade down New York's Fifth Avenue. Ginsberg's activities have often been featured in Ramparts.

Cont'd. from page 9

Inside Story of 'Ramparts'

Tung. . . . Carl has indicated he will be an occasional correspondent [for the Scheer newsletter] . . . . We all wish him the best of luck in Washington and we feel fully comforted by the fact that we are not losing a coordinator, but gaining a spy."

Tax Money Helped

The portrait of Mao probably brought a gust of laughter when it was unveiled and presented to the Moscow-line Bloice, and the "gaining a spy" phrase was simply New Left humor. The story makes two important points: 1) Scheer's campaign manager was a Communist; and 2) The Capital correspondent for two Communist newspapers will contribute occasional articles to Scheer's campaign organization.

Scheer has told *Human Events* that he hired Bloice "for his technical competence"; that he likes him as a person, but violently disagrees with his politics.

Communist Bloice, however, was only one of Scheer's supporters. Another backer was the U.S. Treasury, which channeled funds into Scheer's campaign. It worked this way. During his campaign one of his workers was Mrs. Phyllis Haberman O'Donnell, who has been chairman of the East Bay DuBois Club. Mrs. O'Donnell worked on a work-study program directed by the University of California's Department of Criminology (which is now practically another Sociology Department) and was assigned to a leftist group called Welfare Rights Organization as a case worker. In truth, she worked for the Scheer campaign and reported on it at WRO meetings.

The work-study program was originally funded through the Office of Economic Opportunity, receives its funds through the National Defense Education Act and is overseen by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Raskin and Waskow

Two of the men around *Ramparts* are highly placed nationally and rarely ever visit its offices. They perhaps account for the magazine's influence among opinion-makers across the country. (They may also account for Robert Scheer's interview with Sen. Robert Kennedy and other indications of favored treatment about the Capital.)

The two are Marcus Raskin and Arthur I. Waskow, both graduates of the staff of Wisconsin's ultra-liberal Rep. Robert Kastenmeier (D.).

Raskin is on the *Ramparts* board of directors and both he and Waskow have contributed articles. Raskin's most recent comment was on the CIA-NSA affair in which he sneered that the CIA is "primarily a commercial institution which deals in buying, renting and selling people." He also suggested that CIA operatives were pocketing some of the subsidy money they were supposed to be passing on.

'Liberal Papers' Authors

Raskin and Waskow worked in 1962 on those famous articles of surrender, *The Liberal Papers,* which dealt with the difficulty of "decent Americans" to be "outspokenly and genuinely anti-Communist." *The Liberal Papers* suggested breaking ties with Chiang Kai-shek in order to split the Sino-Soviet alliance and proposed letting the Russians plug in on the DEW line. M. Stanton Evans, in *The Politics of Surrender,* says of *The Liberal Papers,* "The book as a whole is a complete agenda for American backdown, pullout and conciliation in every known category of foreign policy and national defense."

Having prepared *The Liberal Papers,* Raskin was promoted from Kastenmeier's office to John F. Kennedy's National Security Council, the highest policy-making body in the United States. He left after several years but still maintains his contacts in the executive mansion.

Waskow was, if anything, more successful than Raskin. His contribution to *The Liberal Papers* called for an end to nuclear testing (now effectively halted), creation of a "Peace Agency" (we now have the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) and elimination of weapons "provocative" to the Soviet Union (well, let's see, there's Skybolt scrapped, those "obsolete" Thors in Europe, and most of SAC's bombers, etc.).

Today both Raskin and Waskow work for one of those "independent" research groups, the Institute for Policy Studies, churning out position papers on disarming the United States. Some of Waskow's work has been submitted to the Disarmament Agency itself, and for *Ramparts* he jotted down a satirical rendering of various articles of the Constitution, to shape it to the peacenik's view of how Lyndon Johnson is mismanaging his office.

Another *Ramparts* director is Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, a San Francisco Negro physician who also publishes a left-leaning newspaper for Negroes, the *Sun-Reporter.* The *Sun-Reporter,* for instance, will run uncritically the latest pronouncement of Gus Hall and prints most of the press releases from the American-Russian Institute and other left-wing groups.

Goodlett holds both a Ph.D. and an M.D., and has for the past 20 years participated in activities of at least 20 officially cited Communist fronts, including the California Labor School, the National Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, American Youth for Democracy. He was a signer of a famous statement urging American students to attend the Communist-directed 1962 Helsinki World Youth Festival.

Goodlett has made several trips to Moscow to attend "peace" conferences and is an American sponsor of the biggest of the international Communist fronts, the World Peace Council of Vienna. He was active in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and last year was sponsor of the Herbert Aptheker testimonial dinner.

For the past several months the *Ramparts* masthead has listed Don Rothenberg as assistant to the publisher. Rothenberg is also executive director of Californians for Liberal Representation, a far-left group made up of disgruntled left-wing Democrats and many of the same crowd that used to cluster about Henry Wallace rallies in the old days. During the last election campaign Rothenberg tramped the state, lecturing Californians on how they should vote. Rothenberg himself was unable to vote, since he had only recently arrived from Ohio.

What makes Rothenberg so interesting is that he was identified as a member of the Communist party, in Washington, D.C., by FBI informant Mary Stalcup Markward. For many years he served in Ohio as the executive of the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. As most *Ramparts* (and *Human Events*) readers know, the Rosenbergs were convicted Soviet espionage agents executed for their part in betraying America's atomic secrets.

By uncanny coincidence, *Ramparts* recently advertised the book, *Invitation to an Inquest,* by Walter and Miriam Schneir, which is an attempt to posthumously rehabilitate the Rosenbergs, claiming the principal evidence against them was perjured testimony or concoctions of the FBI. The *Ramparts* advertisement was inserted by the Sobell Committee, a cited Communist front, which is trying to gain freedom for Morton Sobell, who was sentenced to 30 years on spy conspiracy charges.

How that ad got into *Ramparts* should be apparent to a three-year-old, when given the facts. *Ramparts'* New York public relations man is Marc Stone, the brother of leftist publisher I. F. Stone. It was just a year ago that a news release reported that Marc Stone was to handle publicity for the Walter and Miriam Schneir book. So, *Ramparts'* PR man is, in effect, the PR man for the Rosenberg-Sobell committees. Marc Stone once managed the New York office of Federated Press, cited as a Communist press service by both HCUA and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. The old Dies Committee found that Federated Press was financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, "both principal sources of funds for Communist enterprises" (a nice way of saying conduits).

Last year Marc Stone traveled to Cambodia with six other Americans—one of them *Ramparts'* military editor, Donald Duncan—and after inspecting selected areas announced that the Viet Cong were not using Cambodia as a sanctuary, an expression identical to the press statements they had issued before leaving New York.

Other writers for *Ramparts* with CP connections include Carl Marzani, a former State Department employe who served a three-year prison term for perjury in denying his CP membership. Marzani is now affiliated with Alex Munsell, a notorious fellow traveler, in a leftist publishing house, Marzani & Munsell. They specialize in books attacking the CIA, FBI and any foreign policy based upon opposition to Communist advance.

Besides expertise at criticizing the CIA for its service to American freedoms, *Ramparts* also keeps a stable of nationally known FBI-baiters. Rex Stout, the Nero Wolfe creator, has contributed a piece attempting to absolve the Rosenbergs and implicating the FBI. Fred J. Cook has checked in with more warmed-up minutiae of alleged FBI malfeasance and a renegade ex-FBI agent, William Turner, is a *Ramparts* staff writer.

Several of Turner's articles have criticized his former employer in abusive terms. In the past few years Turner's criticism has progressed from what some FBI agents privately will admit was "constructive" to a high-pitched vendetta, complete with personal attacks upon J. Edgar Hoover.

One Turner story claimed to expose FBI wire-tapping and eavesdropping techniques, but Turner played tricks on his readers. He told, for example, about having worked in the highly secret FBI covert operation which monitored telephone taps and bugs placed in the San Francisco area. Turner wrote, "At a San Francisco cocktail party recently I had the odd sensation of hearing a voice from the past that I couldn't quite place. I studied the face—it was totally unfamiliar. Then it suddenly dawned on me; the voice was one I had heard many times while monitoring the tapes in the 'clubs.' It belonged to Robert Treuhaft, a prominent civil liberties lawyer and husband of noted author Jessica Mitford."

For all the *Ramparts* reader knew, the FBI was simply plugged in on the phone of a "prominent civil liberties lawyer." Turner did not mention Treuhaft's long and documented connections with the Communist party.

FBI Under Attack

The Turner article also explained current FBI eavesdropping programs, although he has been out of the bureau for six years. And the tone of the article is distinctly one of how he suffered for 10 years while installing bugs and taps.

Actually, following Turner's dismissal in 1961 he fought to be reinstated, carrying his battle, via Edward Bennett Williams, all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. Such conduct is the mark of a man who liked the bureau and wanted to remain a G-man, not one who loathed his profession.

Now let's look at some others of the *Ramparts* staff. One category comes under the general subdivision of San Francisco *Chronicle.* Full-time *Chronicle* staff members who earn their bylines at *Ramparts* include Judy Stone (I.F. and Marc Stone's sister) and Ralph Gleason, both of whom has a reputation on the left. No shifting of journalistic gears is necessary for this type of moon-lighting: On the days the *Chronicle* fails to carry an editorial condemning the CIA, it can be depended upon to carry one upbraiding (a) the

Continued on page 14

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Federal Double Standard

A Case of Reverse Bias in Michigan

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Where men of one skin color are accorded rights, privileges and opportunity denied to those of another skin color, we have what is properly described as "racism."

For a long time the American Negro had to be twice as good to get half as far. He bumped his head against a low ceiling of acceptability. He might ride in a Pullman car, but only if he wore a white jacket and shined shoes. He was not seriously considered for white-collar employment. He was low man on the social totem pole.

Eventually, America's conscience began to grow troubled and there was passed by the Congress a series of civil rights laws designed to redress the imbalance. That these laws have not totally succeeded is obvious, for long-established habit patterns, held both by whites and Negroes, are not easily changed.

Nevertheless, much progress was made and springs of goodwill began to flow from the rocks. The outlook was bright for orderly and steady advance until CORE and Snick began the "hate Whitey" bit and Adam Clayton Powell presented himself as a second Jesus. It would be unrealistic not to admit that some of the original civil rights euphoria has vanished.

Still, let's keep our eye on the ultimate objective: an America in which dark citizens of equal ability, energy, education and trustworthiness will be as acceptable for employment and promotion as any comparable white person. This is the end of "racism." But it won't be accomplished by setting up a system of reverse-racism.

On March 10 there was published a special issue of *University Record,* the information bulletin for the faculty and staff of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. It sets forth, apparently under pressure from the federal government, a series of guidelines that call for close examination.

The *Record* states that Walter Greene, acting regional director of the Defense Department's Contract Compliance Office in Detroit, has been inquiring not only into the employment customs of the university, but also into its "educational policies."

Mr. Greene admitted that the ratio of Negroes employed by the university was higher than the ratio of Negro population in the whole of Michigan. But he complained that most Negro jobs were menial. So on March 9 he issued "16 recommendations," including:

"The Central Personnel Office should take immediate action to locate and place minority group employes in its several operations not only to assist in broadening its employment practices, but also to set a proper example and image for the university and general public.

"The Central Personnel Office . . . should conduct broad-scale recruitment throughout the major urban centers in the Lower Peninsula in an effort to locate satisfactory minority group applicants.

"University advertising for clerical personnel should be placed in newspapers having a specific minority group readership. As an example, advertising should be placed in the Wayne *Dispatch.*

"Personal contacts should be established with Mr. Hamilton Vanzetti, president of the NAACP, and Mrs. Eaglin of the Negro community of Ypsilanti."

This is a far cry from sympathetic consideration of a job application by a Negro. This is a demand for active recruitment of one race even to specifying what newspaper should carry a university employment ad, and what private citizens the employment office should consult. There is also a fist in Mr. Greene's velvet glove, as witness:

"Each department of the university should be required to develop a written plan of intended affirmation . . . it is requested that these plans be shared with the Contracts Compliance Office, Department of Defense."

There is also a hint that the federal government will welcome a double standard of admissions based upon race. Quote:

"The university must make special efforts to enroll Negro students at the graduate level. . . . The Economics Department has sent letters to predominantly Negro colleges emphasizing the interest of the department in attracting their students, offering to 'see students through an initial period of filling in gaps, even up to a year, if their eventual promise is strong.'"

Presumably, white students with "gaps" will not only not be carried for a year, but won't even be admitted.

In passing the civil rights laws, the clear intent of Congress was to offer "equal opportunity." To recruit one race while the other must make application is not equal opportunity. To set a double standard of academic qualifications is not equal opportunity.

Here is another instance in which arrogant executive departments in Washington have issued directives that far exceed the intent of Congress.

These double standards could be tragic for the cause of tolerance. To castigate the white majority for its past sins is proper, but only a fool would imagine that it will accept for very long a government policy of racism aimed against the majority.

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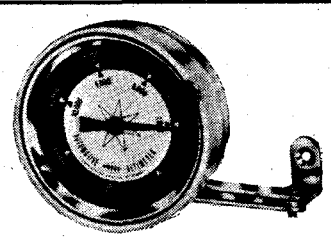

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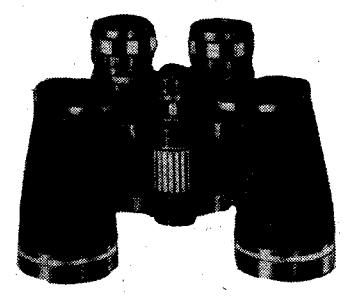

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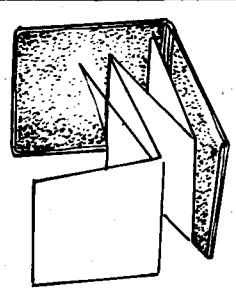

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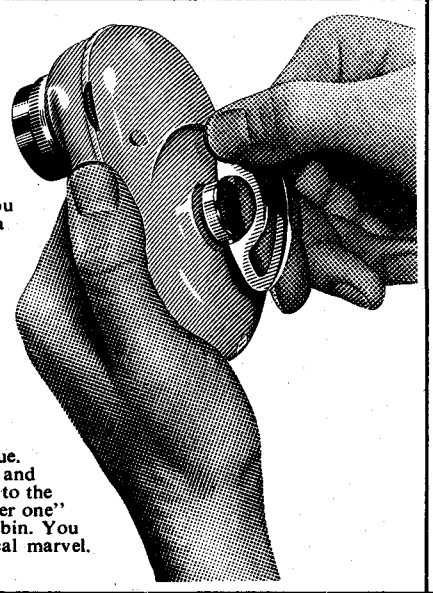

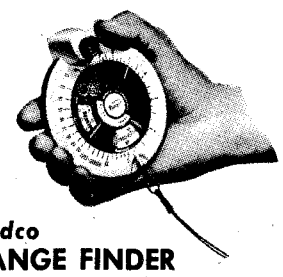

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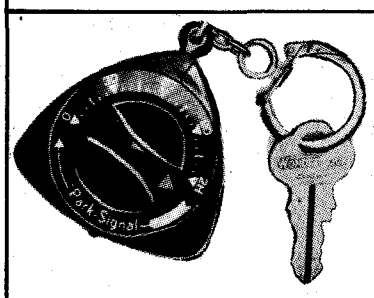

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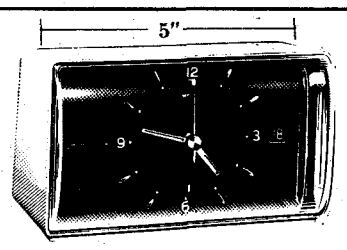

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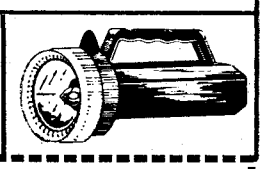

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National Farmers Organization dairymen empty milk on a Kansas wheat field in protest against slumping prices.

What's the Answer?

I Cry Over Spilled Milk

By PAUL HARVEY

Again dairy farmers are trying to boost milk prices by dumping milk, by artificially creating a shortage.

There's got to be a better way!

The so-called National Farmers Organization got some of its earliest financial assistance from Walter Reuther. Auto Workers' organizers taught NFO organizers how to organize.

The objective of more equitable prices for dairy products is entirely just and defensible, but when I saw dairy farmers jump out of the frying pan and into the arms of Walter Reuther I knew that this organization was most likely to adopt his answer for everything: Strike!

Presently, dairy farmers of 25 states have been directed by NFO headquarters to withhold milk from the market place. They'd rather dump it down sewers than sell it at today's prices.

As during previous "withholding" actions by this organization, there is a pox of violence as non-strikers seek to move milk to market.

There has been vandalism and destruction of property and some violence and there may be bloodshed in the milkshed. However worthy the objective, this is not the American way of influencing prices!

NFO spokesman Oren Lee Staley claims that his organization's militant effort has created milk shortages in many areas, will create acute shortages in many more.

His immediate objective is an increase of two cents a quart at the farm level, and "we'll dump it on the ground rather than sell it for less."

I am genuinely sympathetic to farmers, per se, who, fewer in number than heretofore, have less clout in Washington. Thus, they get the short end of the stick in so many ways.

I can get mightily incensed over the senselessness of an Administration continuing to import meat and meat products while our own ranchers are on the financial ropes.

The dairy farmer's plight is somewhat different. It is a cruel paradox that he has become so efficient—

That he has bred improved cows capable of giving more milk—

Then adopted scientific feeding to get still more milk—

Then modernized the milkshed so that one farmer can tend a larger herd—

And now all that milk has flooded the market place with such a plentiful supply that the price is down. The dairyman is pinched so tightly between his price and his cost that many say they "may have to go out of the milk business."

This is not an easy or a painless adjustment for a dairyman to make. His investment is considerable. Besides, dairying has for so long been his life.

But I keep remembering once upon a time when other segments of our agriculture were similarly pinched. Then Agriculture Secretary Ezra Benson dared to say that farmers had become so productive—that one man could now produce so much more per acre and tend so many more acres—that smaller, less efficient farmers were going to have to go into some other business.

That hurt deep. Secretary Benson was politically tarred and feathered and eventually ridden out of Washington on the tines of a pitchfork.

But he was right.

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FILIPINO "MERCENARIES"—A group of Filipino legislators recently denounced U.S. Sen. Stephen Young (D.-Ohio) for parroting the Communist line on Viet Nam. They spoke out after Young charged that the Filipino forces in Viet Nam were U.S. "mercenaries." Rep. Felix Amante led the attack, charging that Young was "mouthing the Russian propaganda line. This infantile Democratic senator from Ohio does not know the history of the Philippines because if he did, he would find that the Philippine past, like that of the United States, is replete with people like George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and many other American heroes who had sacrificed life for freedom and country."

PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS. . . .

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Shriver's Dangerous Scheme For a 'National Assessment'

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Now it's Sargent Shriver. Testifying before a Senate Labor subcommittee chaired by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, anti-poverty director Shriver told his brother-in-law and the world that this country needs a "national assessment." By that he means the registration and testing of everyone in the country at the age of 16, as part of a burgeoning Selective Service System.

Shriver did not (at this time) advocate conscripting boys and girls for a wide range of nonmilitary purposes. If no such application of the "national assessment" were made, however, and the whole project were just an elaborate and expensive piece of social science research, why link it to Selective Service? How justify the boondoggle on any premises?

Besides, other "Great Society" architects, in a continuing series reaching back through 20 years to Eleanor Roosevelt, have filled in the blanks. For example, Robert S. McNamara, secretary of defense, a year ago in an address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors urged that "every young person" be drafted for two years of "national service."

The American public is being softened up by Shriver, McNamara, etc., for accepting a revolutionary and disastrous idea: that the national government has an unlimited right to conscript for any purpose.

Conscription presents this choice: Do as I say or go to jail. Historically, the United States and other free countries have accepted conscription as a means of filling military ranks—for this purpose only, and reluctantly at that. Only national security from armed aggression has been a consideration powerful enough to cause a freedom-loving people to accept even military conscription. It will be an evil day for this country and for the world if the United States ever gets so used to conscription that it is willing to invoke its coercive power for any but military purposes.

Shriver mouthed such truisms as that women are "just as courageous" as men, and should have "opportunity" to be of national service. Here are two evil implications that should be nailed whenever they appear: that conscript service is the only or even the best demonstration of courage; and that national service is a monopoly of conscripts. We need to repudiate any notion that there is anything inherently good about being conscripted.

The experience of the race is that courage is associated more with voluntary action than with carrying out orders, and that a nation's most distinguished servants have been persons who set higher standards for themselves than any drill sergeant can impose.

We accept conscription for the one purpose of raising armies we believe essential to national survival. But let us never succumb to the idea that the more people who are conscripted, for the wider variety of purposes, the better off we are.

Sargent Shriver's advocacy of a detailed census of every 16-year-old in the country (by Selective Service) is just another shot in the continuing barrage aimed by Big Brother at the freedom—and the will to be free—of the American people.

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FURNESS APPOINTMENT—LBJ's appointment of Betty Furness as his consumer affairs adviser continues to be criticized. "I am disappointed in the appointment of a television personality," Dean Helen G. Canoyer of Cornell University's College of Home Economics wrote the President. She formerly headed the National Consumer Advisory Council. "We were a little surprised that the President picked someone with no experience in this field," added Sarah Newman, executive director of the National Consumers League.

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DEMOS SPLIT—Democratic State Chairman John J. Burns of New York fears humiliating defeat in the 1968 elections. "Our party is split," he says, "and when you're not united, you're going to lose. We are our own worst enemy."

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'Land of the Free'

On the Dangers of Reading

By MORRIE RYSKIND

It is still true that "reading maketh a full man." But what Bacon neglected to add was that one must be careful in his selection or he'll become full of the wrong things.

That is why, though I sometimes identify myself with the long-suffering Job, I am not one to wish my adversary would write a book. Ten to one the said book would make the best-seller list and be cited as gospel to attack me. And things are tough enough now.

These melancholy observations are occasioned by the fact that a number of dismayed conservatives send me from time to time some palpably left-leaning excerpts from the textbooks their children are required to read, and ask me to comment on them.

But it is manifestly unfair to discuss a volume on the basis of one or two pages. Any value judgment, to have substance, would require that the critic had gone through the entire book. And for that I simply haven't the time. As it is, there stare at me a dozen volumes I've promised myself to read but haven't been able to get around to.

Let me suggest then, that, for an honest appraisal, they write to the Textbook Evaluation Committee, America's Future, 542 Main St., New Rochelle, N. Y. 10802. Here a number of conservative educators—there are still some, incredible as it seems—have reviewed more than 400 social science texts currently used in our secondary schools.

I do not envy them. The last textbook I waded through, "Land of the Free," a history designed for 8th-graders, ran to 658 pages—and wasn't much fun. There were moments I envied Job, boils and all.

But the California State Board of Education had appropriated over a million dollars for the tome. The three authors were all simon-pure liberals, and some printed excerpts from the volume had brought such a hue-and-cry from ultra-conservatives (are there any other kinds?) that I felt it my duty to read every word. And I stuck it out, too—though I found myself using some Anglo-Saxon expletives now and then.

But, in its way, it was a tour de force. The pages had more southpaw slants than Sandy Koufax—and I sat behind home plate when Sandy pitched a no-hitter. When three sinister historians—I use the adjective in its original Latin sense of "toward the left"—get together, patriotism is skunked.

There was not a word, however, that any objective, middle-of-the-road liberal (are there any other kinds?) could fault. It was a dispassionate view of American history, illuminated by the light shed on our past and present by such critics as Walter Reuther, Stokely Carmichael, Bertrand Russell and the editors of *Ramparts*. There was none of that fatuous de Tocqueville nonsense about it. Just the facts, ma'am.

But the rightist witch-hunters shamelessly called it a perversion of history, and managed to extort a dubious "confession" from a Curriculum Commission member who had approved the book, and got him to concede that it was "slanted and biased." The Supreme Court did not intervene in his behalf, and so some 36 "errors" have now been erased.

I haven't read the revised edition—nor do I intend to. I'd not like it any better if only 36 errors (the number comes from an educator) were rectified. I found at least that many in every chapter.

But in such matters it is well to observe the rules of the Establishment. To question the bias and authenticity of a right-winger's output is sound criticism and meaningful dialogue. But to question a left-wing historian is book-burning and interference with academic freedom. It is of the utmost importance to realize there is a world of difference between the two, in spite of the superficial similarity.

I would point to the sad case of Al Capp as a horrible example. When that satirical cartoonist was lampooning conservative foibles, he was the darling of the intellectuals. Now that he's satirizing leftist foibles, his name is mud.

Let's move over a bit, Job. Make room for Al.

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SENATOR ARTHUR GOLDBERG? Top New York politicos are certain that LBJ is seriously considering his U.N. ambassador for the Democratic nomination against Republican Jacob Javits next fall. They see the President behind the trial balloon recently hoisted by Brooklyn Democratic leader Stanley Steingut. LBJ reportedly feels that Goldberg would run a strong race and help the Johnson-Humphrey ticket carry the Empire State. Moreover, Goldberg's loyalties would not lie with Bobby Kennedy, who hopes to name his own man for the Senate nomination.

Perspective ...

Ever get the feeling you're spinning your wheels?

Getting kind of punchy from repeated campaigns, meetings, phone calls, contributions, letter-writing, speeches - and still the juggernaut rolls on? The names may change, but statism in its myriad guises wins the day - day after day, year after year.

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BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

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THE SPIRIT OF '76 by Holmes Alexander (Arlington House, 396 pages, $6.)

What would become of the country if a conservative suddenly found himself in the White House? Columnist Alexander provides a plausible answer in this very interesting and thought-provoking novel. The story is an account of politics and intrigue staged in 1975-76. A liberal President is killed in an airplane crash and is succeeded by his conservative vice president. The new President reactivates a dormant Constitution, institutes a tough foreign policy, abolishes unnecessary welfare programs and balances the budget.

His programs meet with enthusiastic approval from the American people and shrill hisses from the liberal left. The problems of special interest groups and power-hungry politicians and the dilemma of a congressional impeachment are interwoven into the tale. Mr. Alexander's characters are lifelike and his over-all theme is convincing.

THE PLAY WITHIN THE PLAY by Hernane Tavares de Sa (Knopf, 309 pages, $5.95)

Mr. Tavares is a Brazilian author and professor who served for five years as under secretary for information at the United Nations. His book, subtitled "The Inside Story of the U.N.," is full of interesting memorabilia about the fuctioning of the organization and is generally reasonable and objective in assessing its weaknesses. Some of the conclusions, however, are unwarranted, as one example will show. "The [Cuban] missile crisis, however, signaled the beginning of the end of the Cold War. During these last four years a new era in international relations seems to be emerging, marked by a growing sense of joint responsibility on the part of Washington and Moscow. . . ." This book is not recommended for the young, the impressionable or the naive.

THE INTRUDERS by Sen. Edward V. Long (Praeger, 230 pages, $5.95)

"The Invasion of Privacy by Government and Industry," the book's sub-title, is an issue that divides conservatives, many of whom regard the "right to privacy" as somewhat less sacrosanct than the "right to property." But the abuse of privacy, as Orwell demonstrated, is a fundamental ingredient of totalitarianism. For libertarians, therefore, the question becomes: At what point in bugging, wire-tapping, eavesdropping and mail covers do the interests of state security tread upon the interests of private individuals? Although Sen. Long doesn't presume to draw the line, he does catalogue not only the techniques of the privacy invaders, but furnishes instances of massive abuse by both government and industry which should chill all who value their freedom.

NATIONAL PARTY PLATFORMS: 1840-1964, Compiled by Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson (University of Illinois Press, 698 pages, $10.75)

In no other single reference work are the authenticated platforms of both the major and minor political parties available. The political researcher and writer will welcome this volume. The difficulties of compilation must have been enormous. To begin with, as the compilers point out, party platforms have had a way of getting lost after an election, since there is often no party organization to preserve them. Then there is the problem of defining at what point an amorphous group becomes a political party. The platforms of the principal minor parties have been incorporated, including the Free Soil party in 1848, the Know-Nothings in 1856, the Silver Republican party in 1900 and the Progressive party and the State's Rights party of 1948.

THE AMERICAN REVISIONISTS by Warren I. Cohen (University of Chicago Press, 151 pages, $7.95)

The opposition of the American intelligensia to our entry into World War I continues until this day. Dr. Cohen, a member of the faculty at Michigan State University, deals in this book with the five leading "revisionist" historians, who argued against America's overseas intervention: Harry Elmer Barnes, Charles A. Beard, C. Hartley Grattan, Walter Millis and Charles Callan Tansill.

THE BROKEN SEAL by Ladislas Farago (Random House, 439 pages, $6.95)

Fifteen hours before the bombing of Pearl Harbor ushered in World War II, President Roosevelt, reading an intercepted telegram from the Japanese Foreign Ministry, exclaimed to Harry Hopkins, "This means war!" Six major investigations, including the famous Roberts Commission inquiry, failed to provide definitive answers to why our naval forces were never subsequently alerted to the impending attack. In Mr. Farago's exciting, minute-by-minute chronology of the events leading up to the Japanese attack, he probes areas never before touched by earlier investigators. He amasses convincing evidence to indicate that a conspiracy reaching into the White House had reduced the options of the Japanese to one: attack. Having broken the Japanese code, the probable time and place of attack was known to Gen. George C. Marshall and others then high in the government who took no steps to alert the naval command at Pearl Harbor.

McNamara Questioned

A top Republican expert has accused Defense Secretary Robert McNamara of peddling deliberately misleading statistics to buttress his claim that aircraft production is keeping up with losses in the Viet Nam war. Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (R.-Calif.), ranking minority member of the House Defense Appropriations subcommittee, took McNamara to task for statements made at a February 15 press conference.

On that day, McNamara released a chart that purported to show losses of fighter and attack aircraft for fiscal '66 and '67 totalled 1,517—compared with deliveries of 1,617. What McNamara didn't say is that the "deliveries" included what the Navy called 141 obsolescent A-3As and F-8a/Bs" taken out of mothballs. Without the addition of these outmoded craft, losses show up larger than deliveries.

Lipscomb questioned McNamara sharply about his February 15 statement in a recent closed-door meeting of the Defense Appropriations subcommittee. The transcript of that exchange has been severely blue-pencilled by Pentagon censors.

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Cont'd. from page 10

The Inside Story of 'Ramparts' Magazine

FBI; (b) the HCUA; or (c) those opposing Red China's recognition and admission to the United Nations.

Listed as news editor is Gene Marine, an indefatigable writer who has contributed dozens of stories to the *Nation,* most of them anti-HCUA, -FBI, -civil defense, -loyalty oaths, -Nixon, etc. He has worked for Pacifica Foundation radio stations in Berkeley and Los Angeles and managed the campaign of a left-wing San Francisco legislator. For a brief time Marine went to New York and worked as editor for identified Communist David Livingston and his District 65 union, but returned to associate with Keating's publication. Marine *was* a Marine during World War II, but when the Korean War came along in 1950, this Marine asked for conscientious objector status.

One old man should be mentioned simply because he gave the magazine its name. John Beecher, who has been an associate editor, is the grand-nephew of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher. Bearded and slightly eccentric, he used to print up his own poetry in a small printshop on his ranch. He was once dismissed from a state college for failing to take the required loyalty oath and went on to lead a campaign against it.

He has been, over the years, a writer for the *Nation* and has done some protest walking: In 1961 he briefly joined the San Francisco to Moscow Peace Walk, and several years ago joined a San Francisco march protesting the incidents in Selma, Ala., carrying Joe Hill's epitaph, "Don't Mourn, Organize." Back in 1962, when Edward Keating began his magazine in Menlo Park, bearded John Beecher was in Arizona, running his own printshop, Rampart Press.

A contributor, former director and consultant to the magazine is Dr. Gerald M. Feigen, a San Francisco proctologist, ventriloquist and world traveler, who also writes a weekly column for Dr. Goodlett's Negro newspaper, the *Sun-Reporter.*

Feigen encourages the notion that he'll put his money where his mouth is, but it seems only a ventriloquist's trick. During 1964 San Franciscans were startled to see a half-dozen enormous billboards throughout the city depicting an exploding nuclear bomb. On this was printed, "France plans to test an H-bomb near Tahiti. I protest. Gerald M. Feigen." This expensive personal message from an outraged liberal contrasts starkly with Dr. Feigen's 1961 communique to Nikita Khrushchev. He bought a four-line notice in the *Chronicle* personals column, "NIKITA: Could you defend your action in resuming nuclear testing before a town meeting of the world? G. Feigen." How's that for a protest? Feigen is also a business partner of local advertising executive Howard Gossage.

Gossage is another member of the board of directors. He has brought in some outside money through advertising and each issue carries at least one, but usually three or four, full pages from Gossage's clients.

Gossage also writes occasionally and one of his articles, "The Fictitious Freedom of the Press," lamented that the press was too beholden to its advertisers and that this economic subjugation tended to sterilize press commentary. He also indulged in a lengthy self-criticism, ending with his opinion the ad agency commission system "is obsolete and the advertising agency obsolescent." Gossage proposed that a self-respecting magazine (*Ramparts*?) could break its chains by spurning advertisements and raising its price to 75¢ or a dollar, or even higher.

This unusual adman also serves one other purpose for the magazine: He is a pipeline to popular San Francisco *Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen, and it's a dull week when Caen fails to carry some puff piece about the magazine or its personnel.

Working closely with Gossage and Feigen is another publicist, with the improbable name of Jerry Mander. One of Mander's accounts is The Committee, a cabaret a few blocks from the magazine which stages political satire, specializing in ridicule of anti-communism. The Committee has had one ad in *Ramparts,* and has been the subject of several favorable reviews.

One misconception should be cleared away. That is the notion that Ramparts is a Roman Catholic laymen's magazine. That rests solely upon the Catholicism of Keating and several of his editors.

Actually, for all its underground pretentions about Church orientation, *Ramparts* is just what any other general circulation magazine is—a secular publication with a staff composed of Catholics, Protestants, Jews, agnostics and atheists. One editor is Paul Krassner, the atheist publisher of *The Realist,* a sometimes obscene, always iconoclastic magazine published in New York. So un-Catholic is *Ramparts,* in fact, that it ran an ad for atheist Madelyn Murray O'Hair in her campaign against church property tax exemption.

Keating trumpeted in mid-1965, via "An Editorial Announcement" that he was establishing an editorial board composed of himself, a Catholic; Arthur Cohen, a prominent publisher and Jewish scholar; and William Stringfellow, New York attorney and Episcopal Church representative to the World Council of Churches. This arrangement didn't last six months.

Only a handful of Catholic religious write for *Ramparts.* Trappist monk Thomas Merton sends in an occasional literary item from his Kentucky monastery. Brother Antoninus, a Dominican friar, is said to have caused official Church displeasure when one of his *Ramparts* articles was read in the San Francisco chancery. Brother Antoninus was once active in the Catholic Worker movement, an anarchist group, as was another contributor, Father Peter Riga, who now teaches at nearby St. Mary's College.

Ramparts' treatment of Jewry reflects a self-consciousness and once led it into an unbelievable gaffe. Author Leslie Fiedler wrote about "The Last Jew in America," and the letters columns shook with indignant readers who thought it disrespectful, condescending and downright insulting. And the illustrations—by Rick Schreiter, who usually draws for pornographer Ralph Ginzburg's *Fact* magazine—were compared by some with the caricatures found in *Der Stuermer,* Julius Streicher's anti-Semitic rag in Hitler's Germany. It even drew a strong letter of protest from the Anti-Defamation League, and an abject apology from the editors.

How does *Ramparts* keep going? This question has been raised repeatedly by readers, friends and critics. Hardly any issue of *Ramparts* shows, at current rates, ad revenue of more than $10,000, and some issues, like the March treatment of the CIA, reflected an income of less than $3,000. Of late the ads have run heavily to those from record and book clubs. Some ads are Gossage's and most of the others show a concentration from accounts of three New York advertising firms.

Recently Hinckle told a reporter that *Ramparts* has so far lost $1.2 million, and was losing $400,000 a year. Reported losses include $750,000 from Keating's pocket alone.

Hinckle said the annual costs run about $1 million, with one quarter of the budget going into printing costs and another quarter million for promotion. The promotion is really razzle-dazzle, from the attention-getting full-pagers in the New York *Times* and Washington *Post* that cost up to $6,000 each, to a methodical direct mail campaign targeted to liberals and leftists. One organization which subscribes to many leftist periodicals reports it has been solicited by *Ramparts* from at least 45 mailing lists.

A magazine cannot long survive on ad revenues of less than $100,000 a year, but *Ramparts* has made deficit financing a way of life. The full details of its finances are a well-kept secret, but some West Coast bankers are known to have made some short-term loans to the magazine.

Other sources revealed that $200,000 came from Frederick C. Mitchell, an assistant history professor at the University of Kansas who had inherited a fortune. Another $100,000 came from Louis Honig, president of a reputable San Francisco advertising agency. There are some rumors Keating is dickering with some other millionaires.

Not to be overlooked is the presence of Mrs. Eleanor Jackson Piel on the board of directors. She is rich in her own right and has the password to the gushing money fountains of Manhattan.

Some mention should also be made of *Ramparts'* connection with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the tax-exempt foundation at Santa Barbara, Calif. Irving Laucks, an octogenarian millionaire, who, with his wife, is also a monetary pillar of the Center, came through with $50,000 for *Ramparts.*

The Center also managed to finance a Scheer trip to Asia which he put to good use not only for the Center but for *Ramparts* as well. Paul Jacobs, one of the *Ramparts* staff, also serves with the Center.

How much of the Center and Center-connected money spills over to Ramparts is a matter of conjecture, but the links between the two groups are clear.

Ramparts is not letting its insolvency interfere with plans for expansion either. As already noted, there is now *Sunday Ramparts,* an eight-page newspaper printed primarily for the New York and San Francisco markets. The weekly was an instant success at losing money, and has a circulation of only 15,000. (The monthly magazine guarantees only 45,000 circulation to advertisers, but the editors talk in terms of 150,000.)

Ramparts has other empire-building plans, including possible purchase of the *Sun-Reporter* from Dr. Goodlett and, with Goodlett, ownership of one of the new UHF television channels.

How *Ramparts,* a supporter of many ultra-left causes, can expand its capitalist ventures while sinking deeper and deeper into debt is difficult to fathom. Perhaps in time *Ramparts* will reveal the entire story of its financing in one of its own exposes.

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"Let's have **Lower Taxes,** *dammit!*" bumper sticker. 25¢ each, 5/$1.00. Cal Conservatives, 2521 Durant, Berkeley, Calif. 94704.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

News Management

By REP. DON RUMSFELD (R.-Ill.)

The attempts at news management, censorship and control by the federal government seem to extend across the Atlantic Ocean in an apparent effort to influence news reporting for U.S. servicemen in Europe. More than 50 cases of alleged "news interference" with the European edition of *Stars and Stripes* by United States military officials have come to my attention as a member of the subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information. Management or control of such news outlets as *Stars and Stripes*—read by more than a half-million U.S. servicemen and their dependents each day—should be of grave concern to all Americans. The pattern of news management combined with this Administration's growing credibility gap here at home require the prompt attention of the Congress.

ZIP Troubles

By SEN. KARL MUNDT (R.-S.D.)

Apparently just about everyone is having trouble remembering to include the ZIP Code in correspondence, including Postmaster General Larry O'Brien. Jack Nelson, publisher of the Beresford Republic, *in a letter to Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien in response to Mr. O'Brien's request for support of the Post Office Department's public information program to encourage use of the ZIP Code, notes the postmaster general's letter asking for help on the ZIP Code also failed to contain a ZIP number!*

Government by Guideline

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S. C.)

Although we are taught to believe that the United States has a "government of the people," the real trend today is towards "government by guideline." This trend means that the people today are ruled more and more in their daily lives by the unalterable decision of some bureaucrat or appointed official instead of by legislation framed by their elected representatives.

The term "guideline" has already become familiar to us because of its association with so-called civil rights directives. On occasion after occasion, certain federal authorities have foisted their own interpretation of the laws upon the people. Sometimes they seized upon the flimsiest of legal pretexts; sometimes their interpretations went directly counter to the plain language of the law.

But the key factor in "government by guideline" is the blatant grab for power by the executive branch of the government. Although the civil rights edicts have been played up in the headlines, the same power grab is going on in other areas under the Johnson Administration.

Just last month, for example, a ruling of the Federal Trade Commission set down a precedent which threatens to give the government power to regulate advertising practices of magazines and newspapers. It is an accepted practice in the trade to give volume discounts based upon the space purchased. The Federal Trade Commission ruled that such a practice gives an unfair advantage to companies who advertise the most.

The effect of the FTC ruling is that the company is prevented by arbitrary decision from reaping the competitive advantages won by success. Furthermore, the nation's free press will discover that its revenues as an advertising medium, and therefore its independent strength, will decline.

Of course, the Federal Trade Commission has no power to control the volume of advertising at all. It has seized the power, on the strength of its mandate in anti-trust legislation.

Nor is the Federal Trade Commission the only federal agency seeking to control advertising. The Federal Communications Commission recently renewed the licenses of several Florida broadcasters, with the proviso that the stations report the number of advertisements carried and explain any unusual concentration of commercials.

The Federal Communications Commission has no specific mandate to control the amount of advertising a station can carry. FCC officials justify the unusual demand on the grounds of public service. Yet it is plain that the public itself can determine if it is well-served and express any displeasure simply by turning the dial.

The Federal Communications Commission has also taken upon itself the federal regulation of community TV antenna systems. Congress has to date refused to give the FCC regulatory power over community wired systems. Yet last year FCC officials issued regulations by edict—and in effect told the community antenna TV industry to take it to court if they didn't like it.

Sometimes even projects which are worthy in themselves may be established by the same kind of unauthorized power grab. In 1966 President Johnson announced that he had directed the secretary of health, education and welfare to establish a National Center for the Prevention and Control of Alcoholism. Legislation to establish such a center was at that time pending in Congress; yet by executive fiat, the Center was established without congressional oversight or debate.

In the same way the Public Health Service set up the more controversial National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health, with a $2.5-million budget, simply by administrative order. The national clearinghouse is nothing more than a propaganda agency directed against the nation's tobacco industry, set up outside the authority of the people's representatives in Congress.

Someone has said that the purpose of government is to do for the people what they can't do for themselves. Yet that purpose will be thwarted if the people do not have the chance to reject what is supposedly done on their behalf. Wherever we see the development of "government by guideline," it is plain that someone besides the electorate is pulling the strings.

Damaging Incentives

By REP. JAMES T. BROYHILL (R.-N.C.)

Since the suspension of the investment tax credit, there has been a sharp decline in business growth and modernization. Business confidence has suffered and there has been a disruption of orderly economic progress. In other words, the medicine involved in suspending the tax credit was proving too strong. So long as investment incentives remained suspended, industrial expansion ran the risk of slowing down to a virtual stop. Only recently, a report to the President showed that U.S. business reduced its investment outlays by $330 million in 1966 and planned to cut its investments by almost $2.3 billion in 1967.

With all these indicators strongly pointing to the advisability of restoring the incentive, the President asked for prompt congressional action. In only a matter of days, the House of Representatives passed the bill and the Senate is expected to approve the legislation without delay.

It seems to me that there is a good object lesson to be gained from this experience as we analyze the financial policies of the country. When we tinker with incentives that are important for the growth of the nation, we can expect severe and, perhaps, unplanned, shock waves to result. We can also see that discouraging economic growth can threaten serious problems in a time of high government spending, high taxes, and high national debt. It should also make our economic planners in Washington less willing to experiment with "the goose that lays the golden egg" in the future.

Lost Opportunities?

By REP. JOE WAGGONNER (D.-La.)

Like a lot of others, I am sick of hearing about the "lost opportunity" to negotiate with the Communists in Viet Nam. The only opportunity we have lost is the opportunity to surrender.

Assaults on Police

By REP. JOHN HUNT (R.-N.J.)

New Jersey has 425 organized municipal police departments with an aggregate of 11,867 police officers. Would you believe that the records indicate that 1,195 were assaulted in the line of duty during the calendar year of 1966? These figures do not include the two police officers who were murdered in the line of duty last year.

Would you believe that of the 1,195 cases of assault upon an officer, 558 were required to obtain medical attention as a result of the injury sustained? I call your attention to the fact that this figure represents one case of assault on every 10 police officers in the state of New Jersey and also indicate that 47 per cent of the men assaulted required medical attention for their injuries. Is there no wonder with a situation such as this that young men consider law enforcement a profession that should also be seriously considered as one that will invite direct assault by hoodlums some time during his career? . . .

It is about time that we in the Congress and state legislatures face the situation in its proper perspective. The assaults set forth in this article were not just assaults on police officers per se, but are direct assaults on the American public. . . .

Assault on an officer should not be passed off lightly with a meager $25 fine and a pat on the wrist. We must begin to do something whereby stiff sentences are passed out by our judiciary. Otherwise the very heart of law enforcement will soon be a nonentity.

Lord Melbourne's Sage Advice

In her column in the Chicago *Tribune*, March 26, Bazy McCormick Tankersley decries the fact that "in the pell-mell race of today's affairs there seems too little time for the contemplation of political philosophy." The avalanche of new federal projects makes serious evaluation of each almost impossible, not to say anything of their successful administration once passed.

"I wish I could paste in the hat of every congressman and senator and paint on the walls of the White House office," Mrs. Tankersley writes, "the meat of Lord Melbourne's final address to the House of Lords in 1842." Although the prime minister was speaking of the corn law revision, his comments apply equally well to our reforms today.

Said Lord Melbourne:

"So I am ready to consider any measure for the alleviation of distress.

"I can never hold that the cause can be prevented by changes in the constitution or by changing the persons who administer public affairs. I am opposed to this, for if the existence of national distress is looked on as a reason for organic change in the constitution or in the individuals who compose the government, there is an end of all stability in public affairs.

"In every state of the country, I fear it will not be difficult to make out such a case of poverty and suffering as may support an argument for great and immediate alterations. We have lived lately in a time of great change and many strong measures.

"It is supposed that these measures have produced disappointment, that Catholic emancipation has not ended in the tranquility that was expected from it, that the reform bill has not improved the condition of people at large; and that those who recommended these measures do not enjoy with the country the same popularity that they formerly did.

"How this may be I know not. But I do know that, if there is disappointment, it does not arrive from the vicious principle or the ill-working of those measures themselves, but from the wild, unfounded, exaggerated expectations of their effects which were indulged in and anticipated.

"A man does not know himself, nor is he a safe judge of his own conduct. But I believe myself never to have contributed to the raising of these wild and illusory hopes."

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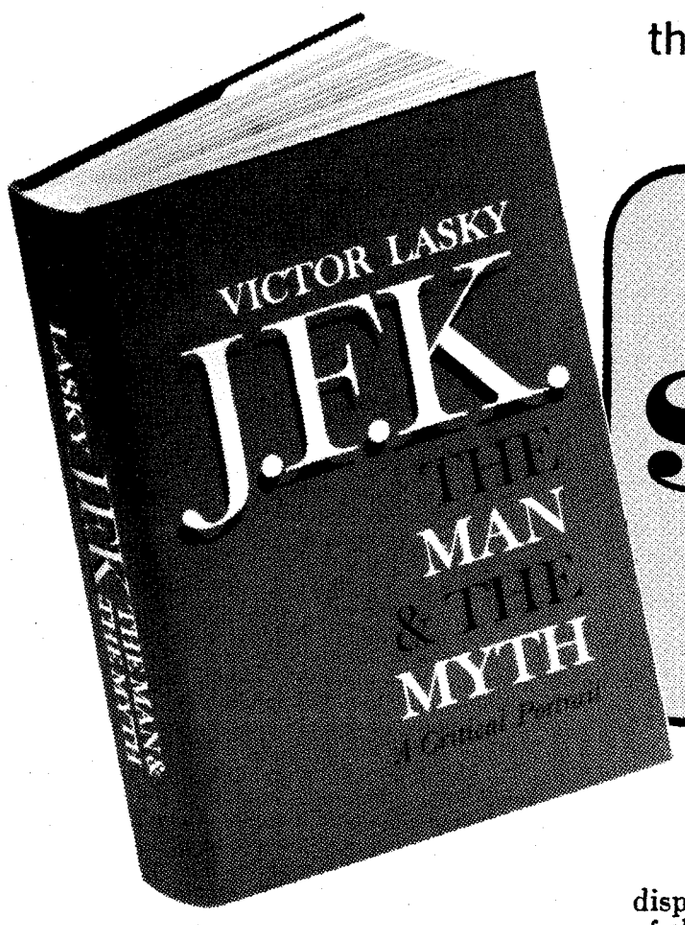

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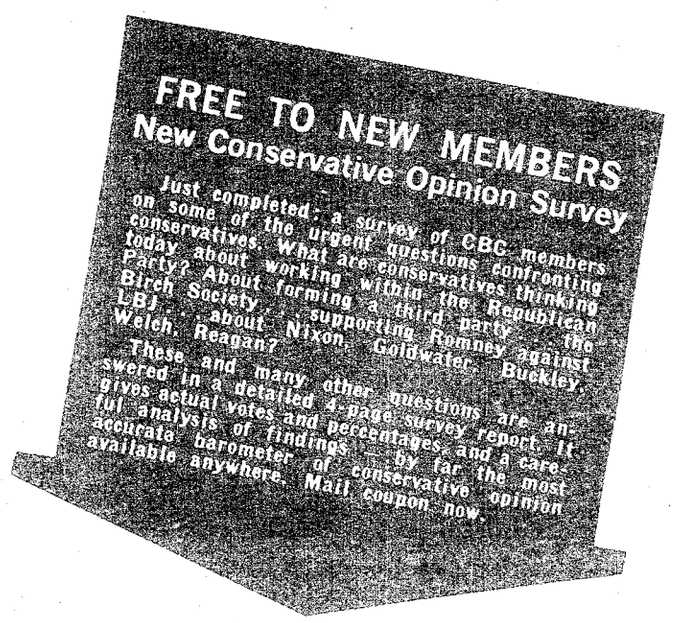

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